




Title	'La Violence et la mauvaise foi': Context and rhetoric in Pierre Bayle's Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique
Author(s)	Browne, Jennifer Margaret Mary
Publication date	2013
Original citation	Browne, J.M.M. 2013. 'La Violence et la mauvaise foi': Context and rhetoric in Pierre Bayle's Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique. PhD Thesis, University College Cork.
Type of publication	Doctoral thesis
Rights	© 2013. http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/ 
Item downloaded from	http://hdl.handle.net/10468/1132

Downloaded on 2018-08-23T18:25:04Z

National University of Ireland, Cork

'La Violence et la mauvaise foi':
Context and Rhetoric in Pierre Bayle's *Ce que c'est que la
France toute Catholique*

Jennifer Margaret Mary Browne

School of History and Department of French

Head of School of History: Prof. Geoffrey Roberts

Head of Department of French: Dr Paul Hegarty

Supervisors: Dr Jason Harris and Prof. Patrick O'Donovan

A Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

(May, 2013)

Table of Contents

Declaration	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
 Introduction: Towards <i>Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique</i>	 1
 Section 1: Recontextualisation: the Bayle-La Roque disputes	
Ch. 1: Ferrand and the religious controversy	37
Ch. 2: The <i>Commentarii</i> of Theodoric and the question of forced conversion	67
Ch. 3: La Roque's Gautereau and the culmination of the debate	106
Ch.4: Understanding the Pamphlet in its Context: Contemporary Reception	124
 Section 2: Rhetorical structure: <i>une ironie maligne</i> ?	
Ch. 5: Approaching the Pamphlet: From Monology to Polyphony	146
Ch. 6: Defining a wholly Catholic France: The Politics of Language and the Language of Politics	169
 Conclusion: 'Contrains-les d'entrer': Towards the <i>Commentaire Philosophique</i>	 215
 Bibliography	 219
Appendix One: A Timeline of the Bayle-La Roque disputes	244

Declaration

I certify that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that it has never previously been submitted for examination in University College Cork or elsewhere.

Signed: _____

Jennifer Browne

Abstract

My thesis presents an examination of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* (1686) by Pierre Bayle, a prominent figure in the Republic of Letters and the Huguenot Refuge in the seventeenth century. This pamphlet was the first occasional text that Bayle published following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in which the religious toleration afforded to the Huguenot minority in France was repealed, a pivotal moment in the history of early modern France. In my thesis, I analyse the specific context within which Bayle wrote this pamphlet as a means of addressing a number of issues, including the legitimacy of forced conversions, the impact of the religious controversy upon exchanges in the Republic of Letters, the nature of religious zeal and finally the alliance of Church and state discourses in the early modern period. An examination of this context provides a basis from which to re-interpret the rhetorical strategies at work within the pamphlet, and also to come to an increased understanding of how, why and to what end he wrote it. In turn this allowed me to examine the relationship between this often overlooked pamphlet and the more extensively studied *Commentaire Philosophique*, in which Bayle argued in favour of religious toleration. Ultimately, understanding the relationship between these two texts proves essential in order to characterise his response to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and to understand the place of the pamphlet within his *œuvre*. Furthermore, an analysis of the pamphlet and the *Commentaire Philosophique* provide a lens through which to elucidate both Bayle's intellectual development at this early stage in his career, and also the wider context of the rise of toleration theory and the evolution of modes of civility within the Republic of Letters on the eve of the Enlightenment.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisors, Professor Patrick O'Donovan and Dr Jason Harris, for giving me the opportunity to undertake this project, for their trust in allowing me the freedom to follow my own initiative, and for their unfailing generosity in terms of their time, support and guidance. They worked both independently and as a team to provide criticism and guidance which was always insightful, practical and delivered in a constructive manner. Without their support this thesis would not have been possible. I only hope that I can do justice to all that I have learned from you both, not only in this thesis, but also in my future endeavours.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the support of the Irish Research Council, which has funded my research over the past three years under the Post-Graduate Scholarship scheme. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the History Department Travel Fund.

I wish to thank several members of the academic staff in University College Cork, who have provided support and insight into my research. In particular, I would like to acknowledge those who have participated in the annual reviews of my work: Dr Paul Hegarty, Dr Patrick Crowley, Dr Clare O'Halloran and Dr Mike Cosgrave. I would also like to thank Dr Lilian O'Brien and Dr Vittorio Bufacchi who generously allowed me to audit some of their lectures on early modern philosophy. I would like to thank Dr Daragh O'Connell for his help on an Italianate matter. I would also like to thank Vicky Janssens, College Language Teacher in the Department of Classics, where I learned Latin. I would like to acknowledge the support of the Centre for Neo-Latin Studies which helped me to sustain and improve my Latin.

I wish to acknowledge the support of the administrative staff from both the French Department and the School of History. Eileen, Joan, Deirdre and Geraldine who were always friendly and helpful in response to my various requests and pleas for help over the years.

I would like to thank the librarians in the Boole Library, in particular those in Interlibrary Loans, whose workload, I fear, I may have increased exponentially in recent years. I would also like to thank the librarians at the British Library, Cambridge University and the Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève who assisted me in my research.

The world of post-graduate research can be a lonely place, but I have been fortunate enough to have made some fantastic friends in the last four years. In the French department, I would like to acknowledge the friendship and support of my office buddies: Paula Donovan, Oliver O'Hanlon and Catherine Burke. Our daily chats, rants and banter were a source of much needed comic relief and support. There is a strong sense of community among the post-graduates in the History department and I have made many good friends there and in other departments. I would like to thank Dr. Nóirín Ní Bheaglaoi, Dr Mark Hutchinson, Shane Lordan, Àine Sheehan, Edel Mulcahy and Caoimhe Whelan for their company, support and encouragement in these last few years. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Àine Sheehan, Dr. Nóirín Ní Bheaglaoi, Edel Mulcahy, Shane Lordan and Caoimhe Whelan all of whom were willing and helpful proof-readers of chapters in this thesis – whatever faults may remain are mine alone.

I would like to thank my friends from other walks of life, who have kept me sane, given me unfailing encouragement and accepted my absence and crankiness at various points over the past four years: Ciara Ní Cheallacháin, Heather Barry, Carthach McCarthy, Elaine Murphy, and Peter Burkley. Ciara also deserves particular thanks for responding enthusiastically and promptly to various questions beginning with the phrase 'So in Italian...?'

Last, but by no means least, I would like to thank my family for all of their support. Most people only have to suffer through one doctoral thesis, but, Mom and Dad you have supported two of us through this process in quick succession with the greatest of patience, kindness, love and enthusiasm. This is a feat worthy of more acknowledgment than I can readily express here. I would like also to thank my brothers, Peter and Patrick. Peter, your wedding to Róisín provided a welcome distraction in the final year of this process. Patrick, your dedication and hard work were a sterling example of how to go through the PhD process and more than that you were an invaluable source of support, both technical and otherwise, over the years. Finally, I would like to say thank you to Sam, our dog. Your happy face made every day better. You are missed terribly now and you will be loved forever.

Introduction: Towards *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*

'Nous voyons présentement avec la juste reconnoissance que nous devons à Dieu, que nos soins ont eu la fin que nous nous sommes proposé, puisque la meilleure et la plus grande partie de nos sujets de ladite R. P. R. ont embrassé la Catholique: et d'autant qu'au moyen de ce l'exécution de l'Edit de Nantes et de tout ce qui a été ordonné en faveur de ladite R. P. R. demeure inutile, nous avons jugé que nous ne pouvions rien faire de mieux pour effacer entièrement la mémoire des troubles de la confusion et des maux que le progrès de cette fausse Religion a causez dans nôtre Royaume [...] que de révoquer entièrement ledit édit de Nantes'.¹

Responses to the increasing intolerance of Louis XIV's absolutist government of the Huguenot minority, culminating in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685 were many and varied. The responses ranged from panegyrics and dedicatory letters to Louis XIV by Catholic authors such as Louis Maimbourg, who praised the king for having brought the Calvinist heresy to its knees 'par une conduite également juste, douce & charitable', to the denunciations by Huguenots such as Jean Claude and Pierre Jurieu of the increasingly overt religious intolerance and of the methods of conversion employed against the Huguenots and ultimately of the Revocation itself.²

In this thesis I will present a contextual and rhetorical examination of Pierre Bayle's *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.³ Apart from journal articles, this pamphlet, published in March 1686, was the first text that Pierre Bayle published following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in which Louis XIV repealed the religious toleration afforded to the Huguenot minority in France. In this study, I intend to examine the context within which Bayle's pamphlet ought to be understood, and thereby to trace the evolution of Bayle's preoccupations, strategy and tone in the religious controversy in the months surrounding both the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and his writing of the pamphlet. This will then form the basis for an examination of the rhetorical structure of the text. As a

¹ L'Édit de Fontainebleau 1685. See Édit de Fontainebleau, Archives Nationales, AE/II/887, no. J943/pce3.

² L. Maimbourg, *Les Histoires du Sieur Maimbourg*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1686), Dedicatory Epistle. J. Claude, *Les Plaintes des Protestans, cruellement opprimez dans le Royaume de France* (Cologne, 1686). P. Jurieu, *Le Dragon Missionnaire, or The Dragoon Turn'd Apostle* (1686).

³ Pierre Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* (S.Omer: Pierre l'Ami, 1686).

whole, this thesis is designed to contribute to our understanding of Bayle's response to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and to offer a reconsideration of the early development of his thought and the place of this text within his *œuvre*.

Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) was a prominent figure in both the Huguenot refuge and the Republic of Letters in the seventeenth century. The religious controversy impinged palpably upon him on several occasions during his life. Born to the Protestant minister of La Carla (now La Carla-Bayle), Bayle converted to Catholicism when he left the Protestant school at Puylaurens to study with the Jesuits at Toulouse. The sincerity of Bayle's conversion has been questioned by scholars because shortly after he received his master's degree he abjured.⁴ He accounted for his initial conversion saying that he was convinced of the errors of Protestantism having read a Catholic treatise. While Bayle's conversion to Catholicism meant that he was distanced from the family unit, his abjuration meant that following his final encounter with his elder brother Jacob at this event, he would never again meet with any of his family.⁵ In France the penalty for abjuring from Catholicism was hard labour in the galleys for life.⁶ Thus, Bayle fled to the Calvinist hub of Geneva to continue his education.⁷ Eventually, Bayle did return to France, where following relatively brief stays in Paris and Rouen, he obtained a post at the Protestant school at Sedan.⁸ There he became friends with Pierre Jurieu, a prominent Huguenot theologian and minister, who had promoted Bayle's candidacy.⁹ This friendship would later turn sour, with the result that the last years of Bayle's life were marked by disputes with Jurieu.¹⁰ The intensification of measures by Louis XIV's government against the Huguenot minority in the early 1680s resulted in the school at Sedan being shut down, which forced Bayle to find work elsewhere.¹¹ He was offered and accepted a post at the newly established *École Illustre* in Rotterdam.¹² It was here that Bayle's literary career began. In 1682 Bayle published both *Pensées Diverses sur la Comète* and the *Critique générale de*

⁴ Hubert Bost, *Pierre Bayle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), pp.40-52.

⁵ Bost, p.52.

⁶ Bost, p.52.

⁷ Bost, pp.59-71.

⁸ Bost, 115-7.

⁹ Bost, p.117.

¹⁰ On the relationship between Bayle and Jurieu see Labrousse, *Conscience et conviction: Études sur le XVII^e siècle* (Oxford : Voltaire Foundation, 1996), pp.135-230.

¹¹ Bost, *Pierre Bayle*, pp.147-54.

¹² Bost, pp.155-6.

l'Histoire du calvinisme de M. Maimbourg.¹³ In the first, Bayle, under the guise of a Catholic author discussing the appearance of a comet, argues for the viability of an atheistic society. Secondly, the *Critique générale de l'Histoire du calvinisme de M. Maimbourg* (1682), as the title suggests, criticized a history by the Jesuit, Louis Maimbourg, who portrayed Protestant subjects as being rebellious by nature. This text was quite successful: it ran to three editions by 1684 and was reprinted several times thereafter.¹⁴ After a few years, following one of his first significant disputes with Jurieu, Bayle lost his job in Rotterdam. This actually turned out to be quite fortunate for Bayle. At the suggestion of Henri Desbordes, a printer originally from Saumur who had sought refuge in Amsterdam, he undertook the editing of a new literary journal in 1684.¹⁵ This provided him with the opportunity to fulfil one of his lifelong dreams which was to be in a position where he could receive and exchange information both about contemporary events, and also the main trends and contributions to the world of arts and letters at the time. Bayle situated his journal, the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, firmly within the Republic of Letters, both by means of the title he chose and with his comments on how he would assess the works submitted. In October 1685, following years of increasing persecution and violence against the Huguenot minority, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes (1598) and all the other edicts of pacification by which toleration and various liberties had been granted to the Huguenot minority. Bayle's elder brother Jacob, who had replaced their father as minister at La Carla, was arrested on 10 June 1685.¹⁶ A letter dated 10 August 1685 from François Janiçon to Bayle suggested that Jacob's arrest was motivated by the desire of the French authorities to silence Bayle. Janiçon wrote:

Il y a ici bien des personnes qui, sachant la voie extraordinaire qui a été employée pour arrêter monsieur votre frère et sa translation hors du ressort du parlement de Toulouse, ont soupçonné que

¹³ Bayle, *Pensées diverses sur la comète*, ed. by Joyce and Hubert Bost (Paris: Flammarion, 2007).

¹⁴ Elizabeth Israels Perry, *From Theology to History: French Religious Controversy and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973), p.13. The success of the text was at least partially due to the fact that La Reynie, finally acquiescing to Maimbourg's demand, had the *Critique générale de l'Histoire du calvinisme* burned at Place de Grève, but only after he had 3000 notices put up on the walls of Paris announcing the condemnation of the book. See Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, Pouvoirs et Société à Paris au XVII^e siècle*, II (Geneva: Droz, 1999), p.895.

¹⁵ In reference to Bayle's journal, when describing it as 'literary', I am employing the word in the old sense of that which pertains to 'lettres' rather than in reference to the distinction that began to be drawn later which classed poetry, novels, short stories etc. as literary works. On the establishment of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* see Bost, *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre Le Journaliste Pierre Bayle 1647-1706* (Amsterdam & Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1994), p.73.

¹⁶ Bayle, *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, 12 vols, ed. by Elisabeth Labrousse et al., 7 vols (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007), I, see 'Calendarium carlananum'.

vous pourriez avoir quelque part dans la cause de cette détention, parce qu'ils ont trouvé dans les *Nouvelles Lettres* dont on vous croit l'auteur des choses capables d'irriter les puissances sur ce qui y est dit au sujet de ce qui se fait en France contre ceux de notre religion.¹⁷

The text being referred to in this quotation was the *Nouvelles lettres critiques de l'auteur de la Critique generale de l'Histoire du calvinisme* which was published in March 1685 and contained an attack against Louis XIV's repressive actions against the Huguenots.¹⁸ Jacob, having refused to convert, died in Château Trompette in Bordeaux on 12 November.¹⁹ In the following year Bayle, while continuing the monthly issues of his journal, published two occasional texts responding to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the concomitant violence against the Huguenots. These texts were *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ: contrain-les d'entrer*.²⁰ Bayle's early works can thus be seen to be largely as being in reaction or response to the contemporary situation in France. The *Commentaire Philosophique*, which details his argument for religious toleration on the basis of the rights of the erring conscience, is perhaps one of Bayle's most discussed texts after of course the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*.²¹ *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* has a significantly more diminished place in Baylean scholarship.

Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique, remarkable in the Baylean *œuvre* because of its brevity, is a pamphlet which contained a collection of three fictitious letters. The letters are attributed to a Catholic canon and two Huguenots refugees, all of whom are unnamed. In the Catholic canon's letter the Huguenots are distinguished by virtue of their temperaments. The Catholic canon appeals to a Huguenot acquaintance, who he describes as 'raisonnable' for an explanation of the bitter invective which he had received from a mutual acquaintance.²² The third letter in the collection is the response from this reasonable Huguenot to the Catholic canon. The second letter in the collection then is that which the Catholic canon describes as 'une libelle'. In my discussion of the pamphlet, I will refer to the

¹⁷ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter 10 August 1685, François Janiçon to Bayle, p.6.

¹⁸ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, n.6, p.9 and V, n.1, p.308; Bayle, *Nouvelles lettres critiques de l'auteur de la Critique generale de l'Histoire du calvinisme de Mr. Maimbourg*, 2 vols (Ville-Franche: Pierre le Blanc, 1685).

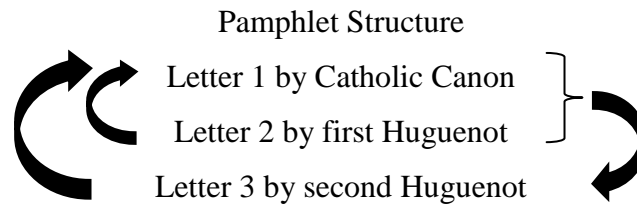
¹⁹ Bost, *Pierre Bayle*, p.283.

²⁰ Bayle, *Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ: contrain-les d'entrer* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang), pt. I-II, 1686; pt. III, 1687.

²¹ Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 5 ed., 4 vols (Amsterdam, Leyde, La Haye, Utrecht, 1740).

²² Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, ed. by Elisabeth Labrousse (Paris: Vrin, 1973), p.32. In this thesis all references to the pamphlet will be to this edition.

Huguenots as the first and second Huguenot, rather than distinguishing them by their temperaments.



The title of the pamphlet appropriates and subverts the title of a text entitled *La France toute Catholique sous le regne de Louys le Grand, ou Entretiens De quelques Protestans Français qui après avoir reconnu que leur Secte est impie & pernicieuse à l'État, prennent la belle resolution d'en hater la ruine si heurusement entreprise par le Roi* by Jean Gautereau.²³ I will discuss the relationship of Bayle's pamphlet to this text in the first chapter of this thesis. The pamphlet was published under the artifice, presented to the reader in the note from the 'Libraire au Lecteur', that these letters were given to the printer by a Catholic missionary in order that the spirit of the heresy might be known. Hence, the false publication address of 'S. Omer, Chez Jean Pierre, L'Ami' appears.²⁴ The Catholic canon's letter, the shortest by far in the collection, helps to support this artifice. The Catholic canon criticizes the bitter polemic of the first Huguenot letter. He insists that the conversions in France were carried out by 'les voies douces zelées et charitables'.²⁵ Nonetheless, he argues that even if force had been used it would have been legitimate to do so, since this was justified in the writings of Saint Augustine.²⁶

The first Huguenot letter, which forms the main body of the pamphlet, is entitled *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. The fact that the letter is given a title suggests that the first Huguenot intended it to be a public letter. The letter criticises the Catholics in France on two main grounds. The first is that they employed both deceit and violence in order to procure the conversions of the Huguenot minority. The second is that they either denied that such methods were used or they remained silent in the face of the persecution. The last letter in the collection is the reply of the second Huguenot to the Catholic canon. In the opening

²³ This edition of Gautereau's text was printed in Lyon, Chez Jean Certe, rue Merciere à la Trinité, 1684.

²⁴ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, pp.28-9.

²⁵ Bayle, p.32.

²⁶ Bayle, pp.32-3.

of his letter, the second Huguenot remarks 'Vous serez satisfait sans doute de ma réponse, Monsieur, puis que je vous dis dès l'entrée que j'ai vû, lu et condamné l'Ecrit qu'il vous a plû de faire passer par mes mains'.²⁷ However, having claimed to agree with the Catholic canon as to a number of his criticisms, the second Huguenot proceeds to reiterate and defend many of the first Huguenot's criticisms. While in the first Huguenot letter the criticisms were primarily focused upon the Catholic clergy and the means employed by the state apparatus to minimize the liberties of the Huguenots, in the second Huguenot letter, the focus of the critique was directed primarily against Catholic historians' misrepresentations of the so-called conversions. The pamphlet concludes with the second Huguenot urging the Catholic canon to think upon the arguments he has made.²⁸

In 1973 Elisabeth Labrousse published an edition of the pamphlet, which I have used extensively in my research. However, I have also consulted the original 1686 duodecimo edition at the British Library and also the 1727 reprint in the second volume of Bayle's *Œuvres Diverses*.²⁹ Labrousse's edition is based primarily upon the 1686 duodecimo edition, with just one or two textual errors emended by reference to the reprint.³⁰ Labrousse provides a general introduction to *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* which sets the pamphlet in the context of the Revocation era and Bayle's experience thereof. However, no analysis of the pamphlet is provided in the introduction. Labrousse's discussion of it is limited to recounting the pretext and structure of the pamphlet and noting the subversion of the title of Gautereau's text.³¹ In the notes and in the glossary of terms, particularities, both of Bayle's language and of usage particular to the seventeenth century, are elucidated and clarified to the significant benefit of the reader. Much of the groundwork provided in the annotations as regards identifying textual references is complete. References to particular concepts, philosophical trains of thought and historical events are explained in the notes. However, as I will argue, Labrousse has not identified the specific context that precipitated Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. As a result some intertextual references and resonances have not been noted in her edition of the pamphlet.

²⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.75.

²⁸ Bayle, p.85.

²⁹ Bayle, *Œuvres Diverses de Mr. Pierre Bayle*, 5 vols (1727) II.

³⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.28.

³¹ Bayle, pp.18-9.

Nonetheless, the value of Labrousse's edition as a platform for further research upon *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* should not be underestimated.

There has been a veritable renaissance in Baylean studies following publication both of a two-volume monograph entitled *Pierre Bayle* and other works by Labrousse, whose pioneering work earned her the place of being the foremost scholar in the field.³² (Indeed, the square behind Bayle's native home in La Carla has been named after her.) The first volume in her monograph provided a biographical sketch of Bayle while the second volume, subtitled *Hétérodoxie et rigorisme*, examined a number of the key thematic issues in Bayle's work. To some extent the resurgence of interest in Bayle reflects the contribution of Labrousse and wider critical reflection on the tercentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

An overview of the recent development and research interests in the field of Bayle studies is provided in the introduction to Antony McKenna and Gianni Paganini's edited volume entitled *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres: Philosophie, religion, critique*.³³ With the increasing interest in Bayle's *œuvre*, the appearance of editions of his texts to make them more accessible has been a natural though necessary consequence. Hubert Bost produced an edition of the *Pensées Diverses*.³⁴ A number of editions, including translations into English, have appeared of the *Commentaire Philosophique*, reflecting the importance of this text not only in the field of Bayle studies, but also that of political thought more generally.³⁵ Similarly, a number of editions of Bayle's best-seller in the eighteenth century, the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, have appeared in recent years, despite the fact that the sheer volume of this text, purportedly running to approximately ten million words, has proved to be a prohibitive factor. Scanned images of the full original text, including a searchable version of the index, have been made available online by the American and French Research on the Treasury

³² Antony McKenna and Gianni Paganini (eds), *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres: Philosophie, religion, critique* (Paris: Champion, 2004), p.7.

³³ In the following summary, I draw in part from their overview. See McKenna and Paganini (eds), pp.7-15.

³⁴ Bayle, *Pensées Diverses sur la Comète*, ed. by Joyce and Hubert Bost.

³⁵ Bayle, *A Philosophical Commentary on These Words of the Gospel, Luke 14:23, "Compel Them to Come in, That My House May Be Full"*, ed. by John Kilcullen and Chandran Kukathas (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005); Bayle, *De la Tolérance: Commentaire Philosophique*, ed. by Jean-Michel Gros (Paris: Champion, 2006); Bayle, *Pierre Bayle's Philosophical Commentary: A Modern Translation and Critical Interpretation*, ed. by Amie Godman Tannenbaum (New York: Peter Lang, 1987).

of the French Language (ARTFL).³⁶ In print form, selections of extracts from the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* have appeared, which attempt to collate discussions of particular themes. McKenna's selection focused upon Bayle as *Témoin et conscience de son temps*,³⁷ while Sally Jenkinson focused upon Bayle's discussion of political issues.³⁸ Perhaps the most important and impressive of all the recent editions of texts from Bayle's *œuvre* is that of the annotated and indexed edition of his correspondance in both digital and hard copy formats.³⁹ This project was largely undertaken on the basis of Labrousse's inventory of Bayle's letters. As Bayle's letters did not form part of his printed works they were not included in the facsimile reproductions of some of his texts which have appeared online. The letters are significant to Bayle scholarship as they provide information about Bayle's relationship with other intellectuals, friends and his family. Furthermore, their contents complement that of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, where Bayle commented upon texts, disputes and contemporary events. Thus, the letters enable scholars to create a picture of the background to the development of Bayle's published texts and comments, thereby adding a new dimension to the scholarship on his *œuvre*.

A number of volumes have appeared that focus upon certain roles which Bayle adopted or was interested in. Hubert Bost discussed Bayle's role as a *journaliste* in his book *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre: Le Journaliste Pierre Bayle 1647-1706*.⁴⁰ This was significant as it was the first detailed study of the contents of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Of particular importance for my research was Bost's examination of the extent to which issues relating to the religious controversy featured in the journal and to what extent Bayle lived up to his claim that religion would not be used as a criterion by which the reviewed works would be judged. More recently, Bost undertook the daunting task of writing a biography of Bayle and two collections of articles *Pierre Bayle, Historien*,

³⁶ <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaire-de-bayle>

³⁷ Bayle, *Pierre Bayle, Témoin et Conscience de son Temps: un choix d'articles du Dictionnaire historique et critique*, ed. by Antony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2001).

³⁸ *Bayle: Political Writings*, ed. by Sally Jenkinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also *Historical and Critical Dictionary Selections*, trans. by Richard H. Popkin (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991).

³⁹ *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, 12 vols.

⁴⁰ This book was based upon his doctoral thesis.

Critique et Moraliste and *Ces Messieurs de la R.P.R.*⁴¹ This combined output amounts to both a substantial synthetic reconsideration of Bayle's career, placing the roles he played in the context of contemporary journal literature and controversies, and also to an extensive examination of the development of various ideas in Bayle's thought.

Ruth Whelan, in *The Anatomy of Superstition*, has examined the place of the *moraliste* and Protestant theology in Bayle's conception of the role of the historian.⁴² Also in this direction, the influence of Bayle, both upon his contemporaries and upon Enlightenment thinkers, has prompted a number of examinations of his position within intellectual culture. In the extensive works of Jonathan Israel, Bayle is presented as an important thinker linking the radical Enlightenment with its later more conservative manifestations in the eighteenth century.⁴³ Most recently the influence of Bayle was discussed in a volume of essays entitled *Le Rayonnement de Bayle*.⁴⁴ This is only one of a number of recent edited volumes on designated themes including *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres: Philosophie, religion, critique*;⁴⁵ *La Raison Corrosive: Études sur la pensée critique de Pierre Bayle*;⁴⁶ and *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières*, a collection of essays in honour of Labrousse.⁴⁷ The emphases and research interests in these contributions to the field of Bayle studies have varied widely. The methodologies employed in these volumes range from biographical and contextual, to literary and stylistic analyses, demonstrating the rich, but disparate character of current Bayle studies. The multiplication of different perspectives on Bayle provides significant material for further research, but renders problematic the potential for further synthetic undertakings like those of Labrousse and Bost.

⁴¹ Bost, *Pierre Bayle*; and *Pierre Bayle, Historien, Critique et Moraliste*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études Sciences Religieuses, 129 (Belgium: Brepols, 2006); *Ces Messieurs de la R.P.R.: Histoires et écritures de huguenots, XVII^e – XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2001).

⁴² Ruth Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition: A Study of the Historical Theory and Practice of Pierre Bayle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1989).

⁴³ Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁴⁴ Robert, Philippe de, Claudine Pailhès and Hubert Bost (eds), *Le Rayonnement de Bayle* (Oxford: SVEC, 2010).

⁴⁵ McKenna and Paganini (eds), *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres*.

⁴⁶ Delpla, Isabelle and Philippe de Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive: Études sur la pensée critique de Pierre Bayle* (Paris: Champion 2003).

⁴⁷ Magdelaine, M., Maria-Cristina Pitassi, Ruth Whelan and Antony McKenna (eds), *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières, Bayle et le protestantisme* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996).

Among these contributions to the field of Bayle studies, the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, the *Commentaire Philosophique*, and perhaps the *Pensées Diverses*, are probably the most cited of Bayle's published texts; discussions of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, however, have featured only minimally. There seem to be three main reasons for this. Firstly, this reflects a relative lack of interest in this period of Bayle's career. No study has been undertaken of Bayle's early career that looks extensively at his response to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Although Labrousse contributed a brief essay entitled 'Bayle, Face à la Révocation' to a selection of conference proceedings and Bost briefly surveyed Bayle's early texts in a study of him as a 'Contre-Révocationnaire', neither of these publications was the appropriate place for a detailed consideration of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.⁴⁸ Secondly, when scholarly attention has been paid to the earlier part of Bayle's career it has focused on three main topics: his discussion of the viability of an atheistic society; his contribution to the development of historiography; and finally the development of his argument for religious toleration.⁴⁹ The other texts which Bayle wrote at that point in his career, specifically the *Pensées Diverses*, the *Critique Générale de l'Histoire de Calvinisme*, the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* and the *Commentaire Philosophique*, were all more substantial sources to address these topics. Thirdly (as I will discuss in greater detail in the first chapter of this thesis), the pamphlet has been largely contextualised both in terms of the plight of the persecuted Huguenots and also the death of his brother Jacob, a minister who had refused to convert, having been imprisoned in Château Trompette in Bordeaux. I will discuss the pertinence of these events as significant contexts for understanding Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in the first chapter of this thesis. Nonetheless, as a result of the pamphlet being understood in this context, in particular in relation to the imponderable grief following the death of his brother, it was suggested that it served as a vehicle for the release of Bayle's anger prior to his writing of the *Commentaire Philosophique*. Labrousse in her introduction to the

⁴⁸ Labrousse, 'Bayle, Face à la Révocation', in J.A.H. Bots, and G.H.M Posthumus Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685: Actes du Colloque international du tricentenaire* (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA-Academic Publishers Associated, 1986), pp.97-105. See Bost, *Pierre Bayle, Historien, Critique et Moraliste*, pp. 189-200.

⁴⁹ See Bost, *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre*; John Kilcullen, *Sincerity and Truth: Essays on Arnauld, Bayle, and Toleration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle: Hétérodoxie et rigorisme*, 2nd edn (Paris: Broché, 1996); Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition*.

edition of the pamphlet wrote that it was the 'exutoire de sa rancœur douloureuse et de sa verve indignée', which 'a constitué une catharsis qui lui a rendu possible l'approche théorique et systématique du problème [de la tolérance]'.⁵⁰ It is perhaps both appealing and seemingly logical to accept this identification. The angry tone in the first Huguenot's letter, despite the justifications which Bayle and others made for such language, was not common in Bayle's writing. In accepting this identification, as one commentator points out, Bayle's humanity rather than his intellectual prowess becomes evident for once.⁵¹ Nonetheless, it is possible that this supposed glimmer of humanity is one of the reasons why the pamphlet has been overlooked to some extent. Antony McKenna commented that those interested in Bayle's work are attracted by the fact that 'il prendra du recul par rapport aux controverses religieuses et aux débats philosophiques de son temps, un recul critique et souvent ironique, qui fait de lui un témoin privilégié de la crise qui marque son époque'.⁵² It is this 'recul' that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* appears to lack if the voice of the first Huguenot and that of Bayle are equated. This could explain to some extent why the pamphlet has not been considered particularly significant to the development of Bayle's ideas in this early part of his career.

The few examinations that there have been of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* thus far have focused primarily upon an analysis of its style and the use of rhetoric. This might perhaps reflect an interest in the apparent aberration of the style in which the pamphlet was written. François Lagarde in an article entitled 'L'Autre Langage de Bayle dans *La France toute Catholique*' sets himself the task of comparing Bayle's response in the pamphlet to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes with other contemporary responses.⁵³ Lagarde reconstructs on a microscale the dispute between Catholic and Protestant authors about their respective uses of language to describe both the conversions and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Pierre Nicole's *Les Prétendus réformés convaincus de schisme* (1684) is the representative Catholic text which denies the use of force in the

⁵⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.20.

⁵¹ Frank Puaux, *Les Précurseurs Français de la Tolérance au XVII^e siècle* as quoted in Jean Orcibal, *Louis XIV et les Protestants* (Paris: Vrin, 1951), p.165.

⁵² McKenna, *Pierre Bayle, témoin et conscience de son temps*, p.7.

⁵³ François Lagarde, 'L'Autre Langage de Bayle dans *La France toute Catholique*' in Roger Duchêne and Pierre Ronzeaud (eds), *Ordre et Contestation au temps des classiques: Actes du 21^e Colloque du Centre Méridional de Rencontres sur le XVII^e siècle*, (Paris: Biblio 17, 1992), II, 113-25.

conversion process and (according to Lagarde) argues that it will be sufficient 'd'exposer la vérité avec ordre et charité <pour guérir l'animosité> du cœur des hérétiques'.⁵⁴ Lagarde then analyses the responses of three of the most prominent figures of the Huguenot refuge, Pierre Jurieu, Jean Claude and Bayle. The writings of Jurieu are characterised primarily as polemic, with those of Claude being described as 'des plaidoiries et des requêtes'.⁵⁵ Despite having set *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in the context of the dispute over representations of conversions, Lagarde does not employ his reconstruction of the dispute to help elucidate the rhetorical structure of the pamphlet. He then turns his attention to the style employed by Bayle in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, which he argues is different from that employed in the *Pensées Diverses* and the *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme*. Lagarde focuses his comments particularly upon the claim of the first Huguenot to employ another style of language. He characterises this 'autre langage', which the first Huguenot claims will be employed in the pamphlet, as one 'de la dénonciation, du mépris, du raisonnement, de la haine aussi, et d'un effroi religieux devant la violence diabolique'.⁵⁶ Following this Lagarde provides a characterisation of both the style and substance of the argument in the first Huguenot's letter noting the ways in which it both overlaps with and deviates from the writings of Claude and Jurieu. Lagarde's characterisation of the style employed in the first Huguenot letter paves the way for further examinations of the pamphlet in the context of wider Protestant discourse and responses to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Roger Zuber, who assisted Labrousse in compiling the annotations for the edition of the pamphlet, is also one of the few who have contributed more than a passing reference to *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Zuber's contribution is in the form of a published conference paper entitled 'L'Écriture comique de 'La France toute Catholique''.⁵⁷ In this essay, Zuber's intention is to show how the literary models of the seventeenth century enabled Bayle to incorporate elements of comedy or humour into a discussion of quite a bleak topic. In the course of his analysis, Zuber discusses Bayle's writing strategy. The use of

⁵⁴ Lagarde, 'L'Autre Langage de Bayle', in Duchêne and Ronzeaud (eds), *Ordre et Contestation au temps des classiques*, II, p.113.

⁵⁵ Lagarde, p.121.

⁵⁶ Lagarde, p.122.

⁵⁷ Roger Zuber, 'L'écriture comique de "La France toute catholique"' in Bots and Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, 165-179.

invective, he argues, is intended to shock the reader into listening and thus to facilitate communication between the two main parties involved in the religious controversy.⁵⁸ Zuber studies the use of irony in the pamphlet, having set it in the lineage of Blaise Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*. His argument focuses largely upon how the writing style in the pamphlet, particularly the use of irony, was intended to appeal to an audience of cultivated Parisians. However, as I will show in the third chapter of my thesis, the reception of Bayle's pamphlet was often rather different from that which Zuber has envisaged. A possible explanation for this is the fact that, as several scholars have pointed out, complicity was required from the readers of Bayle's texts because of his pervasive use of irony.⁵⁹ Thus, Zuber's analysis of how the use of irony and humour functioned to persuade Bayle's contemporaries might be better understood as a reflection upon how the pamphlet might have been read by a complicit reader.

Antony McKenna, in his article 'L'Ironie de Bayle et son statut dans l'écriture philosophique', also provides a brief, though penetrating account of the use of irony in some of Bayle's works, including *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.⁶⁰ Of particular interest to my research is his discussion of what Bayle's use of irony means for how his texts should be read. I will return to his discussion of this topic in the methodology section of this introduction.⁶¹

In her doctoral thesis on the writing strategies of Bayle, Patricia Armstrong employs *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* as one of the representative texts to discuss this topic.⁶² The main thrust of her thesis is to show that there is a 'dialogic imperative underpinning his [Bayle's] entire textual production'.⁶³ Armstrong's thesis provides a useful way into thinking about how Bayle wrote and how the reader was supposed to read his works, which I will return to in my discussion of approaches to reading and interpreting Bayle.⁶⁴ The chapter in which

⁵⁸ Zuber, 'L'écriture comique de "La France toute catholique"' in Bots and Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, p.166.

⁵⁹ Patricia Jane Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle (1647-1706)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Yale University, 2000), pp.95-7. Antony McKenna, 'L'Ironie de Bayle et son statut dans l'écriture philosophique' in Delpla and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, 245-66, pp.246-7; Gianluca Mori, *Bayle Philosophe* (Paris: Champion, 1999), pp.24-32.

⁶⁰ McKenna, 'L'Ironie de Bayle et son statut dans l'écriture philosophique' in Delpla and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, pp.245-66.

⁶¹ See below, pp.17-9.

⁶² Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', pp.67-98.

⁶³ Armstrong, [abstract].

⁶⁴ See below, pp.17-9.

she discusses Bayle's pamphlet is entitled 'Songez-y et faites songer les autres: *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique*'.⁶⁵ Her purpose in this chapter is to trace the process in the pamphlet whereby Bayle forces the reader to take sides without ever specifying which side to take.⁶⁶ Armstrong presents a reading of the rhetorical structure of the text, which echoes Zuber's understanding of it. I will discuss these in detail in the third chapter of the thesis. Armstrong also analyses the structure of the substantive argument in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. She argues that this is achieved in the pamphlet by avoiding the issue of religious orthodoxy and instead framing the dispute in terms of dichotomies of social principles such as *honnêteté* and *malhonnêteté*, truth and lies, and so on.⁶⁷ To prove her point, Armstrong undertakes a discussion of the dishonest discourse attributed to Catholics in the pamphlet, a subject which I will also examine in the fourth chapter of my thesis. Armstrong's analysis of how the argument is constructed in the pamphlet is very much to the point and provides a helpful examination of some of the material considered in this thesis. However, while Armstrong used the material to discuss Bayle's textual strategy, I intend to examine issues connected with language usage in the pamphlet in order to bring into question the viability of a society in which the religious and political domains overlapped.

In more recent years there has been a slight turn towards the idea of reconsidering the place of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in Bayle's *œuvre*, in particular its relationship to the *Commentaire Philosophique* and its contribution to the development of Bayle's ideas on religious toleration. In the 1970s, Labrousse, as noted, viewed the pamphlet as a vent for his anger, and Richard Dinsmore described *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* as 'a work of minimal significance in the evolution of Bayle's idea of tolerance'.⁶⁸ Jean-Michel Gros, more recently, has begun to question this understanding of the pamphlet. Gros is interested in the cross-referencing between *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique*, which is found in the pamphlet, in the review of it in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, and in the preface to

⁶⁵ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', pp.67-129.

⁶⁶ Armstrong, p.72.

⁶⁷ Armstrong, pp.72-3.

⁶⁸ Richard Dinsmore, 'Pierre Bayle and the Development of the Idea of Religious Liberty in Late Seventeenth-Century France' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis: New York University, 1971), p.150.

the *Commentaire Philosophique*.⁶⁹ Gros points out that the purpose of this cross-referencing is enigmatic, particularly because the texts seem to play contradictory or dissonant roles. He writes: 'si le *Commentaire* se présente comme un traité philosophique sur la tolérance, la *France toute Catholique* prend la forme d'un pamphlet radical dénonçant le caractère intrinsèquement violent de toute religion constituée'.⁷⁰ Gros attempts to explain the explicit linking of these two texts by a discussion of this paratextuality and Bayle's use of the Parable of the Tares in the Gospel of Matthew. Gros argues, largely on the basis of Bayle's later writings, that in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* he was attacking Christianity and not just Catholicism. In the final chapter I will reconsider Gros's argument in the light of the context that I present as having led to Bayle's writing of the pamphlet and also with to the substantive claims in the Huguenot letters. In particular, it will become evident that the strategy of citation employed in the Huguenot letters is key to our understanding of this issue: the criticisms of revealed religions are voiced through the opinions of or quotations from those who have no vested interest in the religious controversy between Catholics and Protestants, such as pagan authors or deists.⁷¹

These studies are representative of much of what has been written about *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. It is by no means my intention to suggest that the full force of Bayle scholarship should re-direct its attention to this pamphlet; however, in light of the fact that it was the first occasional text which Bayle published following one of the most significant events not just in Bayle's life, but in seventeenth-century French history, I think that in order to bring us closer to understanding and characterising Bayle's response to this event further study of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is required. The research to date on the pamphlet has been primarily literary and focused upon a characterisation of the style of argument in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. While most of the above-mentioned scholars briefly suggest a way of understanding the rhetorical structure of the pamphlet, no detailed examination of it has been undertaken. In the third chapter of my thesis, I will discuss the various existing explanations of the rhetorical structure of the pamphlet and thereafter suggest ways in which I think it

⁶⁹ Jean-Michel Gros, 'Le parabole de la zizanie chez Pierre Bayle', *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 26, 1 (2005), 297-319, pp.297-8.

⁷⁰ Gros, 'Le parabole de la zizanie chez Pierre Bayle', p.298.

⁷¹ See ch.6, pp.200-2.

might have been intended to function. One of the key issues that I want to address is why Bayle would have published *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, in which the dominant voice is polemical, prior to publishing his call for toleration in the *Commentaire Philosophique*. As noted by Claude Yvon, one of Bayle's contemporaries, the tone of the first would seem to undermine the other and yet, as Gros has pointed out, Bayle seems to have tried hard to ensure that the two texts be linked and read together.⁷² Thus, the primary question which I posed for my research was to explain what Bayle was doing in writing and publishing *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. My research diverges from the main thrust of twentieth-century scholarship on Bayle, which was largely concerned to resolve what Thomas Lennon has called the 'Bayle enigma'. In this thesis, it is not my intention to engage in the debate about the essence of Bayle *qua* intellectual or *qua* philosopher. Lennon has noted the limitations of such an approach to Bayle's writing: the fact that the structure or 'framework' of his writing cannot be pinned down has resulted in a proliferation of interpretations (often radically contradictory) of Bayle and his thought.⁷³ As a result, Lennon insists that in order for progress to be made it is necessary to shift the focus of enquiry from analysing, in the first place, the substance of Bayle's writing to examining the structure of his texts and the interplay of voices therein. I employ a similar method in the latter chapters of this thesis. However, in the opening chapters my approach is somewhat different. I want to place the first occasional text published by Bayle in the aftermath of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the context of his reaction to the persecutions in France (which is measurable) as distinct from his attitude towards religion in general, about which we must be more tentative. Thus, my argument is not premised upon any judgement about the extent and sincerity of his religious affiliations, though naturally how one views this matter may affect how one interprets the implications of my findings. In this context, I hope to try to understand why he wrote the pamphlet, or what prompted him to write it, and thereafter to reconsider the substantive claims and rhetorical structure of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

⁷² Claude Yvon, *Liberté de Conscience Resserrée dans des Bornes Legitimes* (London, 1755) p.iv. I discuss Yvon's comments in ch. 4, pp.136-7. See Gros, 'Le parabole de la zizanie chez Pierre Bayle', p.299.

⁷³ Thomas Lennon, *Reading Bayle* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1999), p.14-24.

Before elaborating on the methodology that I will employ, I would first like to discuss briefly the problems which are faced in undertaking a study of Bayle's texts. Lennon in his monograph, *Reading Bayle*, has noted that the 'special difficulty' in interpreting Bayle's work was acknowledged both in his own time and more recently.⁷⁴ He suggests that the reason for this difficulty and for the widely varying and often contradictory interpretations of Bayle's thought is that there is no agreement as to the fundamental structure of it.⁷⁵ In recent years, scholars have dedicated much of their focus and analytical skills to providing an explanation for why Bayle's texts are so difficult to read and thereby to attempt to point the best way forward in terms of how to read his works.

Gianluca Mori has argued that Bayle's writing is based upon a literary strategy of dissimulation, describing it as 'un jeu de cache-cache continuel et presque maniaque'.⁷⁶ Three main tactics in Bayle's texts work to dissimulate the voice of the author. The first and perhaps most obvious is that apart from the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, most of Bayle's texts were published anonymously and the arguments in them were vocalised through a persona, as mentioned above. It is a voice of a Catholic which presents the arguments in the *Pensées Diverses*, and the *Commentaire Philosophique* is purportedly the translation of a text written by an Englishman.⁷⁷ In addition to these characters, the voices of other speakers are incorporated into his texts by means of copious citation. Locating Bayle's voice within this cacophony, or attempting to navigate one's way through the arguments of these voices, has proven to be one of the challenges of reading Bayle. One might argue, for example, that such considerations would add important nuances to the article by Lagarde mentioned above, since he identifies Bayle's voice almost entirely with that of the first Huguenot.

The second tactic that Bayle employs arises from the construction of his texts, in which a problem or idea is raised, then the opinions of several people are introduced as a means of elaborating and debating the merits of a particular position. Usually there is no resolution to the dialogue. As Armstrong, McKenna

⁷⁴ Lennon, *Reading Bayle*, p.14.

⁷⁵ Lennon, pp.14-5.

⁷⁶ Mori, *Bayle, philosophe*, p.21.

⁷⁷ Mori, 'Anonymat et Stratégies de Communication: Le Cas de Pierre Bayle', *La Lettre Clandestine*, 8 (1999), 19-34, p.20-1, 26.

and Mori have all pointed out there is a 'dialogic imperative' in Bayle's works into which the reader is incorporated.⁷⁸ Thus, the decision is left to the reader as to the resolution of the argument, although, as Armstrong has pointed out the reader is usually pointed in a particular direction.⁷⁹

The third way in which the intended meaning of a text is obscured is through the pervasive use of irony, which on more than one occasion Bayle acknowledged he employed. In the *Harangue au duc de Luxembourg*, Bayle wrote:

Il faut laisser deviner au lecteur la moitié de ce qu'on veut dire pour le moins, et il ne faut pas craindre qu'on ne nous comprenne pas; la malignité du lecteur va souvent plus loin que nous, il faut s'en remettre à elle, c'est le plus sûr.⁸⁰

Bayle, as both Mori and McKenna have noted, was aware that not all his readers would be able to decode his irony and access the intended meaning of his texts.⁸¹ This has led them to posit the idea of there being a sort of 'natural selection' of readers for Bayle's texts: only those who knew how to read or decode them properly would be able to decipher Bayle's point or opinion.⁸² Thus, in order to complete any kind of research on Bayle's *œuvre*, it is necessary to attempt to become one of the readers who can decipher his 'écriture codée'.⁸³

Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique poses similar problems for the reader to those just outlined. Firstly, the tripartite epistolary format poses the problem of where to attempt to locate Bayle's voice. In the scholarship on this pamphlet there has been, as I have noted, a tendency to identify Bayle's voice with that of the first Huguenot. However, my analysis in this thesis will not identify Bayle's voice with that of any of the individual correspondents in the collection. Rather, as will become evident in the second section of the thesis, I see the three letters as functioning together in order to comment upon the various aspects of the religious controversy. In terms of the substantive claims made in the pamphlet, particularly those in the two Huguenot letters, my approach is to analyse the

⁷⁸ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', [abstract]; McKenna, 'L'Ironie de Bayle' in Delpla and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, p.256; Mori, *Bayle philosophe*, p.24-32.

⁷⁹ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', pp.1-4.

⁸⁰ As cited in McKenna, 'L'Ironie de Bayle' in Delpla and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, p.248.

⁸¹ McKenna, 'L'Ironie de Bayle' in Delpla and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, pp.248-9; Mori, *Bayle Philosophe*, pp.22-3.

⁸² McKenna, 'L'Ironie de Bayle' in Delpla and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, p.249; Mori, *Bayle Philosophe*, pp.21-3.

⁸³ Mori, *Bayle Philosophe*, p.15.

comments made by both the first and second Huguenot and to attempt to ascertain the point to which their letters lead.

In addition to the voices of the Huguenots there are other voices incorporated into the fabric of the pamphlet by means of citation. These voices often function to criticise or judge. Thus, the strategy of citation needs to be assessed in order to understand how they function in Bayle's 'jeu de cache-cache' so that the intended meaning or force of the citations is properly understood.⁸⁴ Secondly, the intertextual reference in the title of the pamphlet to Gautereau's text requires further investigation. The title of the pamphlet is not explicit about the relationship between the two texts, as was so often the case in religious controversy. By contrast, the title of the *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme par M. Maimbourg* specifies both the target text (Maimbourg's history) and the fact that Bayle was explicitly engaged in refutation (*critique*) of it. In the light of the lack of explicit markers in the title of Bayle's pamphlet, it is necessary to explain this intertextual reference in order to come to an understanding of the intended meaning of the pamphlet. Finally, the use of irony in the pamphlet, which has been commented upon by scholars of this text, needs to inform one's reading of it.

These features of Bayle's writing make it difficult to decipher the intended force both of the epistolary format and the substantive claims of the pamphlet. Contextual research into the writing of this pamphlet, therefore, offers an additional means by which the intended meaning and force of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* may be elucidated. Accordingly, in the first half of this thesis I both suggest the necessity for further investigation into the context which precipitated Bayle's writing of the pamphlet and, thereafter, elaborate the context which led to his writing of it. In order to do this I have employed a combination of a number of methods. I have drawn upon aspects of the contextualist approach espoused by Quentin Skinner and Terence Cave.⁸⁵ Skinner promotes the contextual approach against the use of a solely textualist approach, arguing against those such as F. R. Leavis that 'texts, duly pondered as texts, never yield their secret meanings to their

⁸⁴ Mori, *Bayle Philosophe*, p.15.

⁸⁵ Skinner first expounds this approach in response to the deficiencies he perceives in the textualist approach in the article 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas'. Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory*, 8 (1969), 3-53; Terence Cave 'Locating the Early Modern', *Paragraph*, 29, 1, 12-26.

interpreters' intelligence'.⁸⁶ Skinner maintains that every enunciation is to be seen as a step in argument.⁸⁷ Skinner and Cave convincingly maintain that knowledge of the appropriate context of a text is therefore necessary in order to understand both what the author was trying *to do* in writing the text, thereby moving our understanding of the text beyond the meaning of the words on the page to the intended force of the text.⁸⁸ Understanding a text in this way enables the historian to characterize a text as attacking or defensive.

Adopting an approach which would help to characterize *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in this way seems appropriate for a number of reasons. Firstly, as discussed above, although Bayle's appropriation of the title of Gautereau's text for his pamphlet points towards a relationship between the two texts, nonetheless the precise nature of the relationship is not made explicit by the title. Thus, exploring the interaction between the two texts in the context of the religious controversy seems like a promising way forward. Secondly, Bayle wrote the pamphlet at a time when he was immersed in the culture of dispute and exchange among intellectuals in the Republic of Letters because of his editorship of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. In the sphere of both religious controversy and the Republic of Letters texts often formed part of a debate or acted as a response to previous discussions. Consequently, it seems legitimate to employ the contextual method to ascertain if and how *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* might have fitted into these contexts.

As Skinner and Cave argue, determining the appropriate or relevant context for a text is neither a straightforward process nor a precise science.⁸⁹ Contextualisation can be understood as a process of comparison in that it could be conjectured that what the historian does is to compare objects which are proximate in time and/or subject matter in order to identify the texts and events that are relevant to their study and then to construct a narrative or image of the past in the light of the relationship between the objects.

The starting point for my contextual research was, therefore, a comparative examination of Gautereau's text with Bayle's pamphlet, primarily because the title

⁸⁶ John Keane, 'More Theses on the Philosophy of History' in James Tully, *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 204-217, p.206.

⁸⁷ Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), I, p.115.

⁸⁸ Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, I, p.79. Cave, 'Locating the Early Modern', p.19.

⁸⁹ Skinner 'A Reply to my Critics' in Tully, *Meaning and Context*, 233-88, p.284. Cave, pp.20, 23.

of the latter pointed to the former as a proximate intertext. For reasons that I will discuss in the first section of the thesis, the link between these two texts proves tenuous with the result that Bayle's pamphlet cannot be characterised as a direct response to it. This prompted an extension of the scope of the context of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in order to attempt to ascertain what Bayle was doing both in writing the pamphlet and in appropriating the title of Gautereau's text. Extending the scope of the context for the pamphlet involved attempting to find other contemporary discussions both of Bayle's pamphlet and Gautereau's text by means of an extensive examination of primary sources pertaining both to the religious controversy and the Republic of Letters. Ultimately, this process allowed me to set *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in the context of two debates which he was having with another journal editor. On the basis of this, I have attempted to document Bayle's preoccupations and his reactions to contemporary events in the months leading up to the writing of the pamphlet. My analysis both of the style in which Bayle reacted and also of his opinions on certain themes which were evident in the disputes is intended to form a starting point from which to approach and understand *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

However, as will become evident in the third chapter of this thesis, my examination of the sources also led me to the conclusion that Bayle's pamphlet was supposed in part to transcend the specific context of these disputes and thereby respond to the substantive issues raised in it on a more general level. In the light of this, my use of the contextual method to help elucidate the pamphlet is somewhat paradoxical. By setting *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in its specific context and reading it the light of the sources pertaining to these disputes, I have therefore both uncovered and undermined Bayle's authorial intention in writing the pamphlet. The contextual process uncovers his intent to the extent that it elucidates his desire to transcend the context which precipitated the writing of the pamphlet, so that the criticisms therein would comment more generally on the contemporary situation. However, the contextualization undermined this by exposing the specific context which precipitated *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Thus, in employing the contextual method I have subverted and rejected the reading experience which Bayle wanted to impose upon the readers of the pamphlet, while simultaneously elucidating the wider context which he wanted to address.

The context which I detail for Bayle's pamphlet was not the context within which the pamphlet was understood by his contemporaries. Without wishing to preempt too much my discussion of the contemporary reception and understanding of the pamphlet, neither the comments of Bayle's contemporary biographer Pierre Des Maizeaux, nor those of Pierre Rainssant, a correspondent of Bayle's and Louis XIV's *garde de médailles*, upon *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* point towards the same immediate context that I will for understanding what Bayle was doing in writing the text.⁹⁰ Des Maizeaux placed the pamphlet in the general context of the contested representations of the conversions in the religious controversy. Rainssant, who was immersed in the journalistic culture of the time but to whom Bayle sent the pamphlet without indicating that he was the author, read the pamphlet as Huguenot polemic and did not see, or at the very least did not mention, the links which I perceive to the writing of the pamphlet in Bayle's activity in his journal in the months prior to his writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.⁹¹ The comments of each of these men locate the writing of the pamphlet in the general context of the religious controversy. Thus, by setting his pamphlet in the specific context of the disputes with La Roque, there is, to an extent, a disjunction between how I will be reading or understanding the context of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and that of Bayle's contemporaries. In fact, my purpose in reading *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is different from that of his contemporaries in that I want to elucidate what Bayle was 'doing' in writing the pamphlet (to employ the language of J.L. Austin's Speech-Act theory), thereby legitimizing a different reading strategy.

In conjunction with a contextualist approach, Skinner also espouses a conventionalist approach. The conventionalist approach employs comparison with the 'prevailing conventions governing the treatment of the issues with which the text is concerned' to help ascertain the point of a text.⁹² This approach, focusing on textual analysis, enables the historian to determine whether or not a text is purely 'functionalist', that is, adhering to and thereby supporting the cultural, political and societal conventions of the time. The point of the approach is to pick out and show instances where an author deviated from, subverted or exceeded the conventions of

⁹⁰ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter from Pierre Rainssant to Bayle dated Court 29 Mar., 1686,, pp.346-7.

⁹¹ Bayle, pp.346-7. See also n.2, p.347.

⁹² Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, I, p.101.

the time. In doing so, a historian can identify points of deviation from and attempts to modify the conventions of a period.⁹³ Thus, this comparative approach is useful in order to perceive, in cases of oblique strategies of enunciation, when an author is attempting to change the direction, tone or scope of a debate, often pointing towards an innovation of some variety.

As regards identifying and deciphering oblique strategies of enunciation, which were prevalent in times of absolutism, the conventionalist-contextualist method, espoused by Quentin Skinner and Terence Cave, albeit with some divergences, is better equipped for this task than a purely textualist approach. By setting the pamphlet in context and familiarising myself with the conventions of the time, I can better determine when Bayle is subverting a common rhetorical device or is employing irony in order to criticise the policy of intolerance towards the Huguenots in France. However, the contextualist-conventionalist approach espoused by Skinner is not unproblematic.

The identification of the use of obliquity in a text is dependent on recovery of authorial intention according to Skinner. As Skinner writes, the 'problem of detecting irony arises not as a problem of meaning, but of illocutionary acts'.⁹⁴ He argues against a textualist approach that: 'Reading such texts over and over will not enable us to move from what was said to what was meant'.⁹⁵ This is indeed true. Skinner's approach maintains that: 'Speech-acts are nevertheless always 'situated' or conventional, in the sense that they standardly intend to communicate arguments to others and therefore must be recognizable as intentions.'⁹⁶ A speech-act can be understood to be 'situated' in terms of a specific dispute or in a more general context of a discourse. For Skinner, intentions in a speech-act 'are not private entities to which no one can gain access'.⁹⁷ However, in times of persecution where censorship and self-censorship are practiced, it is often the intention of the author that his intentions remain ambiguous, thereby making it particularly difficult to ascertain the intended meaning of his text.

Against the textualist approach, Skinner urges the historian to use the context to uncover the illocutionary force of the text, as discussed above. In *Visions*

⁹³ Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.198-200, 214.

⁹⁴ Skinner, 'A Reply to my Critics' in Tully, *Meaning and Context*, p.270.

⁹⁵ Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, I, p.80.

⁹⁶ Keane, 'More Theses on the Philosophy of History' in Tully, *Meaning and Context*, p.207.

⁹⁷ Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, I, p.97.

of *Politics*, Skinner argues that context must be 'the court of appeal' for assessing the relative plausibility of incompatible ascriptions of intentionality.⁹⁸ Skinner provides two examples of ways in which context can be appealed to in order to determine which interpretation is most likely. The first suggestion is to appeal to contemporary interpretations of the text. The second suggestion is that the actions of the authors themselves should also be used to help determine the illocutionary intention in oblique texts also.⁹⁹ Skinner's first suggested method, the comparison with contemporary interpretations of the text, I find problematic and incongruent with his own approach. To demonstrate the use of comparison with contemporary interpretations, he refers to the interpretative disputes over Hobbes and Bayle. Skinner tells us that: 'Both thinkers were accepted by the *philosophes* as their great predecessors in scepticism, and were understood in the same way by contemporary critics as well as sympathisers, none of whom ever doubted that they had intended to speak destructively of prevailing religious orthodoxies'.¹⁰⁰ Skinner's suggested method here is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, this argument is inconsistent with his use of Austin's speech-act theory, which distinguishes between the illocutionary intention and the illocutionary force of a text.¹⁰¹ With this argument in favour of appealing to contemporary interpretations to ascertain what the author was doing, he inadvertently places the determination of authorial intention in the hands of the reader with the result that illocutionary intention and illocutionary force, become indistinguishable.¹⁰² Secondly, Skinner seems content with establishing the cumulative authority of generations of interpreters in order to decipher what the author was doing in writing the text. As a suggested method to decipher the intentions behind the obliquity, which may exist in a text, comparison with contemporary interpretations appears, to me, to be more limited in its usefulness and more hazardous than this treatment suggests. In the latter half of this thesis, it will become evident that such a conflation of illocutionary intent and force would result in an incomplete understanding of Bayle's pamphlet, precisely because the extant contemporary reception of Bayle's pamphlet does not feature readers who

⁹⁸ Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, I, p.87.

⁹⁹ Skinner, p.82.

¹⁰⁰ Skinner, p.81.

¹⁰¹ J.L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, 2edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp.94-108.

¹⁰² Bevir argues that Skinner does this more generally throughout his method, *The Logic of the History of Ideas*, p.41.

were capable of deciphering his 'écriture codée'. Therefore, this range of sources is not an appropriate guide for determining the intended meaning of the pamphlet.

In the second section of this thesis my attention turns to the construction of the argument(s) and substantive claims about rhetoric in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in order to attempt to address the questions raised in the first section about why Bayle wrote the pamphlet the way he did and what he hoped to achieve by it. This is undertaken primarily by means of an analysis both of the use of rhetoric and comments about it in the pamphlet. Rhetoric has been defined in various ways over the centuries, but most definitions point towards it as an art of persuasion. Plato suggested that it was the 'art which leads the soul by means of words',¹⁰³ while Aristotle described it as 'the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever'.¹⁰⁴ In treatises on rhetoric in the seventeenth century, it is clear that rhetoric was defined in various ways with both positive and negative connotations by Bayle's contemporaries. René Bary's *La Rhétorique françoise* presents a number of these definitions, which describe rhetoric as 'un Art monstrueux à deux visages', 'un Art qui parle aux yeux et aux oreilles' or as 'un Art qui déguise les choses'.¹⁰⁵ Bary rejects all of these definitions which seem to carry negative connotations suggesting that rhetoric can be used to obscure truth or hide things. Instead Bary favours the following definition: 'l'on peut dire que c'est un corps de discipline qui découvre les moyens de persuader, d'émouvoir & de plaire, & qui renferme dans son étendue les raisons des moyens qu'elle découvre'.¹⁰⁶ In this thesis, I employ the term rhetoric in reference both to this ancient art of the construction of arguments, but also, in line with the more pejorative definitions as evoked in Bary's text, to a use of language which in order to persuade obscures with language or arguments the true nature of a thing or matter. In particular in the second section of this thesis both these definitions of rhetoric come into play. The emphasis is primarily on the definition of rhetoric as a dishonest discourse, with elements of rhetoric, *qua* a means of constructing an argument, being used to demonstrate how Bayle formed his argument.

¹⁰³ Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. by Harold North Fowler (London: William Heinemann, 1926), 261a.

¹⁰⁴ Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. by J.H. Freese (London: William Heinemann, 1926), 1355b.

¹⁰⁵ René Bary, *La Rhétorique françoise ou pour principale augmentation l'on trouve les secrets de nostre langue* (Paris: Pierre le Petit, 1665), p.1.

¹⁰⁶ Bary, *La Rhétorique françoise*, p.2.

In ancient rhetorical manuals on the writing of orations, such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the art of rhetoric is generally divided up into three genres and five parts.¹⁰⁷ The three genres or modes of writing, which were associated with the different styles of oration, are forensic or judicial, deliberative and demonstrative or epideictic.¹⁰⁸ To a greater or lesser extent, elements of all three genres or modes feature in the letters in Bayle's pamphlet. I will give further detail on their use in chapter five because identifying an author's use of these can be helpful in terms of their purpose in writing. In anticipation of this, I will provide a brief overview of each genre here. Epideictic is considered the most variable of the three genres of rhetoric. With the re-assertion of classical rhetoric during the Renaissance, epideictic became a popular rhetorical genre once again and was applied to the written word. Epideictic was concerned with the related spheres of praise and blame.¹⁰⁹ As such this genre was employed both to praise a person's virtue in the hope that such praise would encourage the listeners to emulate virtuous behaviour and it was also used to blame the faults of a person in the hope that this would discourage listeners from such behaviour. Thus, this genre had the social function of reinforcing the norms of virtuous or moral behaviour. Forensic or judicial rhetoric was originally employed in judicial matters to illustrate that an act was not in accord with the law, but therefore naturally extended to cover definition of terms and logical analysis of argument. Deliberative rhetoric was employed to weigh the merits of a given action or policy and was used for the purposes of persuasion or dissuasion. An oration in any of these genres was constructed from the five parts of rhetoric, those being – *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *pronuntiatio*.¹¹⁰ *Inventio* is the part of rhetoric concerned with 'the devising of matter, true or false, that would make the case convincing'.¹¹¹ *Dispositio* is the 'ordering and distribution of the matter, making clear the place to which each thing is to be assigned', that is the structuring of the argument.¹¹² *Elocutio* is 'the

¹⁰⁷ [Marcus Tullius Cicero], *Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, trans. by Harry Caplan (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1964).

¹⁰⁸ [Cicero], p.5.

¹⁰⁹ Brian Vickers, *In defence of Rhetoric*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.54-5. For a description of the purpose of the three main genres of rhetoric see [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, p.5. It is from this text that I have taken the following definitions.

¹¹⁰ [Cicero], p.7.

¹¹¹ [Cicero], p.7.

¹¹² [Cicero], p.7.

adaptation of suitable words and sentences to the matter devised'.¹¹³ *Memoria* is the 'firm retention in the mind of the matter, words and arrangement'.¹¹⁴ Finally, *pronuntiatio* is the 'graceful regulation of voice, countenance, and gesture'.¹¹⁵ Given the fact that my analysis is concerned with a written text that was not intended to be delivered orally, the latter two, *memoria* and *pronuntiatio*, are of minimal interest.¹¹⁶ However, I will refer to various aspects of *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* in order to explicate the structure and basis of Bayle's argument in the pamphlet. Nonetheless, it is not my intention to provide a detailed breakdown of the pamphlet into these constituent parts. Indeed, to undertake such an analysis would be somewhat problematic. The argument in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is not solely built based upon the substantive arguments put forward therein. Rather, the substantive arguments function in conjunction with the overall structure of the pamphlet in order to present Bayle's argument to the reader. The three letters function as an exemplification of the religious controversy which the interlocutors comment upon and to that extent form part of the *inventio* of the pamphlet. However, as I will argue in chapter five, the three letters also work together in conjunction with the framing material in the pamphlet, such as the *Note au Libraire*, in order to push the reader toward two possible understandings or readings of the purpose of the epistolary format of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Thus, as the three letters in the pamphlet have a dual purpose they can be understood to form part of the *dispositio* just as much as the *inventio* of it. Indeed, the role of *elocutio* in the text is similarly complex: features of it are employed in the pamphlet, but are also commented upon and deployed in order to further the argument. Thus, the *elocutio* of the pamphlet functions as part of both the *inventio* and *dispositio* of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. This will become evident in chapter six, where I will demonstrate the link between the possible interpretations of the epistolary format of the pamphlet with the substantive claims in the individual letters. I will argue that the title of the pamphlet posits *definitio* as the main ground of and concept in its argument. *Definitio* is a feature of judicial rhetoric and is employed when 'the name by which an act should

¹¹³ [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, p.7.

¹¹⁴ [Cicero], p.7.

¹¹⁵ [Cicero], p.7.

¹¹⁶ Áron Kibédi Varga, 'Universalité et limites de la rhétorique', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, vol.18, 2000, 1-28, p.7.

be called is in controversy'.¹¹⁷ In this sense, *definitio* is the crux of the dispute between Catholic and Protestant authors about the different accounts of the conversions. As a result, rhetoric, *qua* a dishonest discourse, features as a primary concern in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. The different kinds of rhetoric employed in the three letters are discussed and commented upon within the pamphlet. I will argue that these substantive claims function in conjunction with readings of the pamphlet derived from the analysis of its structure, in order to comment upon the problems associated with the use of rhetoric in the domains of religion, morality and the socio-political.

In order to understand the kinds of rhetoric employed and also contemporary attitudes towards it in the seventeenth century, I familiarised myself with some of the staple texts of rhetorical instruction in the early modern period such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Erasmus's literary and educational writings,¹¹⁸ as well as the secondary literature upon the topic, such as Marc Fumaroli's comprehensive text the *L'Age de l'Éloquence: Rhétorique et Res Literaria de la Renaissance au seuil de l'Époque Classique* and discussions of rhetoric in the writings of prominent contemporary authors such as Pascal and Descartes.¹¹⁹ The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the authorship of which is unknown, provides instruction in the ways in which to construct arguments in the three main rhetorical genres, as well as in the kinds of rhetorical devices or figures proper to the three stylistic registers of language, that is grand, middle and simple.¹²⁰ The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and similar texts, such as Cicero's *De Oratore*, focused primarily upon the writing of orations and the devices and methods necessary for this. However, the letter had become a significant literary form by the seventeenth century. It was also one of the key means by which intellectual exchange was maintained in the Republic of Letters. Moreover, in the context of France, as Thomas M. Carr has noted, Guez de Balzac 'had realized that with the advent of royal absolutism, political oratory had no future in France; likewise given the increasing importance of the *honnête homme*, both in salons and in court circles, his

¹¹⁷ [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, p.39.

¹¹⁸ Desiderius Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings of Erasmus*, ed. by Craig Thomson, vol. 25 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, c.1982).

¹¹⁹ Marc Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'Éloquence: Rhétorique et Res Literaria de la Renaissance au seuil de l'Époque Classique* (Geneva: Droz 1980).

¹²⁰ A good brief survey of the main tenents of rhetorical instruction can be found in Peter France, *Rhetoric and Truth in France: Descartes to Diderot* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp.8-13.

audience could not be one of learned specialists'.¹²¹ For Balzac, it was the letter which was to take the place of orations, but which would still be founded upon the precepts in the rhetorical treatises of ancient authors.¹²² The epistolary format of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* then fits comfortably within a culture and time in which the letter had become an important literary genre. Indeed, some of the more successful texts of the period were written in letter form - one need only think of Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales* or Bayle's own *Critique Générale de l'histoire de Maimbourg*. In order to familiarise myself with the epistolary genre, its form and style I consulted both Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis* as well as some of the significant texts written in this format, some of which I have already mentioned.

As I have already mentioned, the use of rhetoric to construct the argument in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is not the only way in which rhetoric is relevant to my discussion: the status and use of rhetoric in society is a fundamental issue in the pamphlet. The main problem raised in the pamphlet is the fact that rhetoric can be used to obfuscate truth. This was by no means a new idea or concern. Indeed, it dates as far back as the writings of Plato, which express the concern of philosophers that rhetoricians were concerned more with *doxa* or opinion than truth.¹²³ This concern persisted in the seventeenth century, both on a philosophical and literary level. Scholars such as Peter France have examined 'the difficulty of reconciling the demands of truth-telling and sincerity with those of persuasive communication'.¹²⁴ In addition to the constraints imposed by persuasive language on truth-telling, there were also those imposed by social forms such as rules of civility and socio-cultural ideals.

In seventeenth-century France, as is evident from the appearance of texts such as Père René Rapin's *Observations sur l'eloquence des bien-séances*, what one could say and how one could or should say it was limited, particularly for the noble and bourgeois classes, by various socio-cultural concepts and ideals which dictated

¹²¹ Thomas M. Carr, Jr, *Descartes and the Resilience of Rhetoric: Varieties of Cartesian Rhetoric* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), p.8. See also Jean-Luis Guez de Balzac, *Les Premières Lettres de Guez de Balzac*, ed. by H. Bibas and K. T. Butler (Paris: Droz, 1933-4), 1:240.

¹²² Carr, *Descartes and the Resilience of Rhetoric*, p.8.

¹²³ Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (New York: Longman, 1990), pp.8-9. See also, France, *Rhetoric and Truth*, p.57.

¹²⁴ France, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.3. For discussions of seventeenth-century authors about rhetoric as acting in opposition to a discourse of truth see France's *Rhetoric and Truth* and Carr's *Descartes and the Resilience of Rhetoric*.

appropriate behaviour, such as the *honnête homme*, *bienséance*, *le naturel* and *la politesse* or *la civilité*.¹²⁵ These facets of seventeenth-century French culture were complex, interrelated concepts, which were and are often defined with reference to or in relation to one another. For example, Nicolas Faret noted that the *honnête homme* should have 'une certaine grâce naturelle'.¹²⁶ Another definition provided of the *honnête homme* is: 'Bienséant, conforme aux règles de l'étiquette, aux devoirs de l'urbanité, aimable'.¹²⁷ While I will discuss these concepts and their role in Bayle's pamphlet in detail in the second section of this thesis, it is worth noting here the ways in which these concepts could impede rather than promote a truthful discourse, which these two definitions of the *honnête homme* point towards. Despite the characterisation by Faret of the *honnête homme* in terms of a natural grace, as Bernard Tocanne has discussed and as is hinted at by the second definition, the kind of behaviour being valorised is that which is in line with the demands and restrictions of polite society.¹²⁸ In theory, a person was supposed to aspire to the good qualities associated with being *honnête* so that their expressions and opinions fell in line with their actions and words. However, this was not always the case and consequently, the appearance of *honnêteté* often resulted in the dissimulation of a person's true opinion or feelings or indeed the true nature of an event or action, thereby perpetuating the use of a dishonest discourse. Thus, like the use of persuasive rhetoric, these social forms also mitigated against a culture of unmediated truth-telling. As I will discuss in the second section of this thesis, Bayle evokes and appropriates some of these socio-cultural forms in order to argue in favour of a use of language which is transparent rather than opaque, honest rather than dishonest. In particular, it will become evident that in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* the concern about the use of language which hides, denies or redresses truth, is levelled on a more explicitly religious and ultimately moral and socio-political level.

¹²⁵ René Rapin, *Du grand ou du sublime dans les mœurs et dans les différentes conditions des hommes* (Paris: Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy, 1686), Unpaginated Avertissement of *Observations sur l'éloquence des bien-séances*. The *Observations sur l'éloquence des bien-séances* was appended to the title text. Bayle noted the appearance of Rapin's text in his journal. See Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Feb., 1686, cat. de livres xii, p.238.

¹²⁶ Nicolas Faret, *L'Honnête homme, ou l'art de plaire à la court*, ed. by Magendie (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1925), p18. See also Bernard Tocanne, *L'Idée de Nature en France dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978), p.236.

¹²⁷ Gaston Cayrou, *Le français classique: lexique de la langue du dix-septième siècle expliquant d'après les dictionnaires du temps et les remarques des grammairiens* (Paris: H. Didier, 1923).p.467.

¹²⁸ Tocanne, *L'Idée de Nature*, pp.236-49.

Consideration of the moral and socio-political dimensions of language in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* raises the question of Bayle's understanding of language in action. In order to examine the concept of language as mobilised in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, I have attempted to familiarise myself with some aspects of language theory, specifically Ferdinand de Saussure's structuralist understanding of language as elaborated in the *Cours de linguistique générale*.¹²⁹ Saussure argued for a *langue-parole* distinction. He employed the term *langue* to designate the abstract idealist system of language and *parole* to describe the use which people made of the words in their utterances.¹³⁰ He conceived of the *langue* as a system comprised of linguistic signs, which were composed of two parts - *signifié* and *signifiant*.¹³¹ The signifier was the group of sounds or letters which formed a specific word, while the signified was the meaning or concept which it was intended to designate. Saussure argued that because the signifier employed to designate a particular signified varied in different languages the relationship between the two components of the sign was arbitrary. Despite certain limitations to his model, Saussure's study has provided a point of departure and technical vocabulary for subsequent studies of language structure.¹³² Although his understanding of language is derived from nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century linguistics, the idea of the arbitrary nature of the sign (which Saussure argues is a fundamental rather than incidental feature of language) was widely debated in the middle ages and early-modern period, resulting in the formation of several rival schools of thought.¹³³ The extent of Bayle's awareness of the differing positions of these schools of thought, and whether he ascribed in theory to one or other, is not clear. Thus, in employing modern terminology derived from structural linguistics to help elucidate the discussion of language in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, I wish to avoid identifying Bayle with any particular

¹²⁹ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. by Tullio de Mauro (Paris: Payot, 1979).

¹³⁰ Saussure, pp.36-9.

¹³¹ Saussure, pp.97-9.

¹³² For a discussion of this see Paul Bousiac, 'Saussure's legacy in Semiotics' in Carol Sanders (ed), *Cambridge Companion to Saussure* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2004), 240-60, pp.250-56.

¹³³ Saussure, pp.101-3. For a discussion of some of the debates about language in the early modern period see Hannah Dawson, *Locke, Language and Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.91-128.

early-modern philosophy while maintaining an analytic vocabulary that is comprehensible in modern discourse.

In terms of my examination of the moral and socio-political implications of the rhetoric criticized in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, my focus is on language as it is used, that is, Saussure's *parole* rather than *langue*. In order to explicate this I have drawn upon modern speech-act theory. In the final chapter my understanding of the criticisms of the bad faith in which Catholics uttered promises and oaths was informed by J.L. Austin's discussion of this.¹³⁴ According to Austin both oaths and declarations of intent can be understood as a particular kind of speech-act, which he has called a performative utterance.¹³⁵ Performative utterances are not constative and cannot be evaluated on a true/false basis. Rather, in a performative utterance, an action occurs, as in the 'I dos' of a wedding ceremony. In a case where the person swearing or promising has no intention of keeping to their word, or ultimately cannot abide by it, the utterance is not to be deemed false, but rather to be 'infelicitous'. Austin's discussion of performative utterances helped me to better conceptualise the intended force of the Huguenots' criticisms.

In order to pursue a close reading of the detail of the pamphlet and the nuances of tone within it, I undertook a translation of the text. The philological research which this involved helped to ground me in the cultural language and rhetorical devices of the time. Extensive primary source research was also essential to this process and to the process of constructing an image of the dynamic of the debates in the religious controversy. I also learned Latin in order to be able to scrutinize Bayle's use of Latin citations and also the texts that he wrote in Latin. Indeed, I have begun a translation of one of his later works against Jurieu entitled *Ianua cœlorum reserata cunctis religionibus*, which, among other things, discusses the ethics of reading and debate.¹³⁶ Study of Latin stylistics has also contributed to my understanding of early-modern rhetoric in both Latin and the vernacular. The work of Marc Fumaroli on this topic has demonstrated the richness and wide range of different rhetorical traditions in the early-modern period, which provides an

¹³⁴ Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, pp.12-93.

¹³⁵ I am employing the vocabulary associated with the speech-act theory of J.L. Austin.

¹³⁶ Bayle, *Ianua cœlorum reserata cunctis religionibus* (Amsterdam: Peter Chayer, 1692), [Unpaginated Preface].

invaluable framework within which to situate rhetorical strategies of the time.¹³⁷ Important for understanding the culture of public discourse was Pierre Zoberman's *La Cérémonie de la Parole*, which analyses the role of the *académies* and other cultural institutions in the promulgation of state discourse, which pertains to Bayle's views about the political dimension of the cultural sphere.¹³⁸ Peter Burke's work on the *Fabrication of Louis XIV* provides a significant insight into the importance and control of representation in almost every form of public life during the rule of the Sun King.¹³⁹ The works of Emmanuel Bury, Bernard Tocanne and J.-P. Dens explicate key cultural concepts which circulated in this wider cultural sphere, such as *honnêteté* and *bienséance*.¹⁴⁰ In the light of these considerations of the social and conceptual context of intellectual life in early-modern France, it is important to come to an understanding of the intellectual and cultural domain of the Republic of Letters, of how criticism was ideally supposed to be imparted and how it was done in reality. The work of Bots and Waquet provides a good introduction to this topic; however, discussions of Bayle's conceptualisation of it establish a more specific point of departure for my research on the disputes between Bayle and La Roque, which subtly transform our understanding of the role of religious dialogue in the Republic of Letters.¹⁴¹

Two distinct and to some extent competing models of the relationship of the Republic of Letters to the rise of the Enlightenment have been elaborated in recent years. The first model argues that the end of the seventeenth century was a key turning point in the formation of a public sphere through the creation of the Republic of Letters, which established the cultural forms through which Enlightenment ideas came to be articulated.¹⁴² Conversely, the second model argues for the continuity of early radical Enlightenment thought with intellectual debates

¹³⁷ Marc Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'Éloquence: Rhétorique et Res Literaria de la Renaissance au seuil de l'Époque Classique* and (ed.) *Histoire de la Rhétorique dans l'Europe moderne 1450-1950* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999).

¹³⁸ Pierre Zoberman, *Les Cérémonies de la Parole: L'éloquence d'apparat en France dans le dernier quart du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1998).

¹³⁹ Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

¹⁴⁰ Emmanuel Bury, *Littérature et Politesse: L'invention de l'honnête homme 1580-1750* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996); Bernard Tocanne, *L'Idée de Nature en France dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978); Jean-Pierre Dens, *L'Honnête Homme et la Critique du Goût: Esthétique et Société au XVII^e Siècle* (Kentucky: French Forum, 1981).

¹⁴¹ Hans Bots and François Waquet, *La République des Lettres* (Paris: Belin, 1997).

¹⁴² Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

arising from within the Renaissance Republic of Letters.¹⁴³ The disputes between Bayle and La Roque which form the contextual base for this thesis hold the potential to illuminate the specific relationship of the unfolding events surrounding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to these wider intellectual developments. The tercentenary studies of Labrousse and Janine Garrisson of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes provide a detailed contextual reference point from which to begin to understand this key event and its significance for the cultural sphere.¹⁴⁴ In a rather different fashion, Jacques Solé's *Les Origines Intellectuelles de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* tracks the intellectual development of key questions which were relevant to the dispute about the Revocation, including the concept of toleration, which was a central preoccupation of Bayle's *œuvre*.¹⁴⁵ Elizabeth Israels Perry's *From Theology to History* demonstrates that against this backdrop of the movement towards the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes there was a shift within Catholic-Protestant polemic from a focus upon theological matters to debates about history, encompassing facets of the debate about the characteristics of the true Church.¹⁴⁶ In this regard, Solé's extensive thesis, 'Le Débat entre Protestants et Catholiques Français de 1598 à 1685', demonstrates the interconnected nature of the development of Protestant and Catholic thought in this period.¹⁴⁷ These studies provide a background against which to measure the rhetorical claims of Bayle and his contemporaries that the Republic of Letters could in some sense transcend the religious and political limitations upon the free exchange of ideas in this period.¹⁴⁸

As a consequence of the differing methodologies required to respond to these diverging intellectual and literary contexts, this thesis is divided into two sections. The first section 'Recontextualisation: the Bayle-La Roque disputes', presents the need for a re-contextualisation of Bayle's pamphlet and thereafter analyses the disputes which I argue precipitated Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que*

¹⁴³ Israel, *Enlightenment Contested and Radical Enlightenment*.

¹⁴⁴ Labrousse, "*Une foi, une loi, un roi?*": *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1985); Janine Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa Révocation: Histoire d'une Intolérance* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1985).

¹⁴⁵ Jacques Solé, *Les Origines Intellectuelles de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1997).

¹⁴⁶ Israels Perry, *From Theology to History*.

¹⁴⁷ Solé, 'Le Débat entre Protestants et Catholiques Français de 1598 à 1685', 5 vols (Paris: Atelier National de Reproduction de Thèses, 1985).

¹⁴⁸ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 2 vols (Geneva: Slatkine, 1966), I, Mar., 1684, Preface. All page references will be to the pagination as in the journal, rather than to that of the Slatkine edition.

la France toute Catholique. In the first chapter 'Ferrand and the religious controversy', I trace the dispute between Bayle and La Roque over Louis Ferrand's representation and characterisation of the conversions in France. In chapter two, 'The *Commentarii* of Theodoric and the question of forced conversion', I examine the second dispute that focuses on the question of the legitimacy of forced conversions. In chapter three, 'La Roque's Gautereau and the Culmination of the Disputes', I draw the two disputes together and examine their relationships to Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. In the fourth chapter, 'Understanding the Pamphlet in its Context: Contemporary Reception', I discuss the contemporary reception of Bayle's pamphlet in order to examine how it was understood by his contemporaries to respond to the issue of the forced conversions. The issues raised by this discussion help to frame my examination in the second section of the thesis both of the epistolary format and of issues pertaining to rhetoric in the pamphlet. In the second section of the thesis, 'Rhetorical structure: une ironie maligne?', my analysis switches to a more literary mode. In the fifth chapter of my thesis, 'Approaching the Pamphlet: From Monology to Polyphony', I suggest possible ways of understanding the rhetorical structure of the pamphlet. In the final chapter, 'The politics of language and the language of politics', I discuss how the concept of language functions both when reading the pamphlet as a hostile reader and when attempting to read it as one of Bayle's complicit readers. In this chapter I will also re-assess Gros's understanding of the pamphlet in the light of my analysis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

In sum, my thesis offers a recontextualisation of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and a reinterpretation of the rhetorical strategies within it in order to elucidate Bayle's intellectual development at this stage in his career, and the wider context of the rise of toleration theory and the evolution of modes of civility within the Republic of Letters on the eve of the Enlightenment.

Section One

Recontextualisation: the Bayle-La Roque Disputes

Chapter One

Ferrand and the Religious Controversy

In this chapter, I will re-examine the limited context within which Pierre Bayle's short pamphlet *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, has been understood by Baylean scholars. I will argue that in order to fully understand Bayle's writing of the pamphlet it is necessary to expand the focus of the current contextual points to include two disputes that Bayle, in his role as editor of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, was having with the editor of the *Journal des Sçavans*. I will outline the characteristics of the Republic of Letters and briefly discuss how Bayle saw himself contributing to and promoting the Republic of Letters with his journal, before undertaking my analysis of the 'Ferrand dispute'. I will trace the development of themes and ideas in this dispute which will prove to be relevant to our understanding of the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and also to understanding its rhetorical structure and substantive claims.

As I noted in the introduction, the discussions of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* have, to date, been few and relatively short.¹ Furthermore, none of these contributions focus upon the genesis of Bayle's pamphlet. When commenting upon Bayle's works, most scholars recount what has become a fairly standard, albeit brief, narrative of this pamphlet. This narrative usually incorporates four main points. First, Bayle took the title of a Catholic polemic pamphlet by Jean Gautereau and subverted it in his own text.² He appropriates the title to present it in an ironic light which is evident in the incorporation of two Huguenot voices into a textual space which is supposed to reflect wholly Catholic France. Second, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is a highly charged emotional text. Scholars characterize

¹ See Introduction, pp.10-16.

² *La France toute Catholique sous le Règne de Louis le Grand*. There are two editions of the text. The first edition was printed in Lyon by Jean Certe in 1684. Then, in 1685, the text began to be sold in Paris by R. Pepie. In the Jean Certe edition, following the title given above, appears: 'On y trouvera une Apologie pour l'Eglise Romaine contre la Satire intitulée *le Papisme & le Calvinisme mis en Parallele*, & contre tous les autres Libelles que les Protestans ont donnés au public depuis deux ans.' The sub-title of the text is different from the subtitle of the 1685 printing, which reads '...ou entretiens de quelques françois de la religion prétenduë réformée, qui, ayant abjuré leur hérésie, font l'apologie de l'Eglise romaine contre le livre de M. Jurieu intitulé: "Le Papisme et le calvinisme mis en parallèle"'.

the tone of the text as 'stinging', 'terrible' or containing 'une rancœur douloureuse'.³ This characterisation of the tone of the text is made, primarily, in comparison with the more moderate tone which Bayle employed in his journal, the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, when discussing issues pertaining to the religious controversy. Biographical and intellectual explanations are employed to account for the shift from a moderate tone to a more angry and polemical one. The biographical explanation, the third point in the narrative, describes it as a reaction to the death of Bayle's elder brother Jacob, which I previously noted in the introduction.⁴ The intellectual explanation, the fourth point in the narrative, appeals to our knowledge about Bayle's intellectual concerns and principles as manifest in the texts which precede *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, particularly his journal, the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.

From the narrative outlined above, it is evident that the current understanding and interpretation of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is governed by three main contextual reference points: firstly, there is the treatment of the Huguenots in France from 1684 to 1686, including the death of Bayle's brother which, it is suggested, prompted a shift from the moderate tone of Bayle's journal to an angry, bitter tone in the pamphlet; secondly, there is the link with Jean Gautereau's text; and finally the influence of Bayle's intellectual project in his journal. First, I will assess how and to what extent these contextual reference points are relevant to and correlate with Bayle's pamphlet.⁵ Thereafter, on the basis of that analysis, it will be the primary work of this chapter to reopen the context of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, allowing a sort of dialogue to occur between the text and the general context in which Bayle was writing in order to help us determine the relevant context(s) for elucidating our understanding of the pamphlet and Bayle's motivations and intentions in writing it.

One of the main contextual reference points employed to describe Bayle's pamphlet is its relation to Jean Gautereau's text, *La France toute Catholique sous le*

³ Israel's Perry, *From Theology to History*, p. 16; Puaux, *Les Précurseurs Français de la Tolérance au XVII^e siècle* as quoted in Orcibal, *Louis XIV et les Protestants*, p.165; Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.20.

⁴ See Introduction, pp.10-16.

⁵ As discussed in my introduction, this method is based broadly upon that espoused by Skinner in 'A Reply to my Critics' in Tully, *Meaning and Context*, p.284 and by Cave, 'Locating the Early Modern', pp.20, 23. See Introduction, pp.19-21.

regne de Louys le Grand, ou Entretiens De quelques Protestans Français qui après avoir reconnu que leur Secte est impie & pernicieuse à l'État, prennent la belle resolution d'en hater la ruine si heureusement entreprise par le Roi, published in late November 1684. This three-volume octavo text was divided into nine *entretiens*, which take place in the home of Madame la Comtesse de *** between a group of Huguenots, including an elder of that Church and a *marquis*. The Huguenots embark upon a discussion of the writings of their co-religionists that discuss issues pertaining to the religious controversy. For the purpose of noting some of the dominant concerns in the religious controversy at the time, I will relate some of the main topics addressed in Gautereau's book as reflected in its table of contents. The first *entretien* made the argument that:

le Roi peut ruiner dans ses Etats le Parti Huguenot sans violer la Foi publique, ni les loix divines & humaines: on refute en le prouvant les calomnies, dont les Apologistes Protestans ont rempli depuis deux ans leurs requêtes & leurs libelles[.]⁶

The second *entretien* argues that it was a sign of 'la sagesse du Roi d'entreprendre la conversion des Huguenots, & que le succès de cette entreprise sera infaillible'.⁷ In the third *entretien* Gautereau, who according to this text was an important Huguenot, accounts for his conversion to Catholicism. In this dialogue he argued his point based on the characters of the founders of the various Protestant confessions.⁸ In the fourth dialogue the conformity of the Catholic Church to the primitive Church is demonstrated.⁹ In the fifth and sixth dialogues it is proven that the Huguenot Church is schismatic.¹⁰ In the final volume, the seventh and eighth dialogues a critique of Jurieu's *Le Calvinisme & le Papisme mis en Parallele* is undertaken, while the ninth dialogue argues that the Reformations in France, England, Geneva and Germany were 'une pure extravagance, une horrible impiété, un attentat manifeste contre l'Eglise de Jesus-Christ & contre les Rois'.¹¹ In the aftermath of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the issues discussed in the first two dialogues were particularly topical. The subjects of the other dialogues, though perhaps not as

⁶ Gautereau, *La France toute Catholique*, I [Table of Contents].

⁷ Gautereau, [Table of Contents].

⁸ Gautereau, [Table of Contents].

⁹ Gautereau, II [Table of Contents].

¹⁰ Gautereau, [Table of Contents].

¹¹ Gautereau, III [Table of Contents].

immediately relevant, formed part of the long established points of disputes between Catholics and Protestants in the religious controversy.¹²

The passing references in secondary literature to Bayle's appropriation and subversion of the title of Gautereau's for the most part do not elaborate upon the nature of the relationship between the two texts.¹³ Some scholars have gone further and classified Bayle's pamphlet as a partial response to Gautereau's text.¹⁴ Armstrong, having explored in most detail thus far the relationship of Bayle's pamphlet to Gautereau's text, suggests, that Bayle was not in fact directly responding to it.¹⁵

There are three main reasons which suggest that Bayle's pamphlet was not a direct reaction against or response to Gautereau's text. Two of these reasons are based upon a comparison of Bayle and Gautereau's text, while the third reason is contextual. The first textual reason which suggests this is that Gautereau does not feature as the primary target of the criticisms and attacks in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. While some of the ideas and issues that feature in Gautereau's text, such as whether Louis XIV could bring about the ruin of the Huguenot minority without breaking any laws, are also discussed and picked up on in Bayle's pamphlet, other than his subversion of the title there is no direct reference to Gautereau's text. Bayle does make two possible, but rather oblique references to Gautereau. On the first occasion, the first Huguenot refers to 'l'Auteur que je réfute', when refuting the argument that Louis XIV was in no way bound to respect the Edict of Nantes.¹⁶ However, while the short quotation here might seem misleading, within its context Bayle is only referring to the author who made that particular argument. Moreover, since the argument that Louis XIV was in no way bound to respect the Edict of Nantes was quite common in works defending the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in conjunction with the fact that Bayle does not make reference to any specific text or author, it is not at all definite that it was Gautereau whom he

¹² For a discussion of the nature and development of these disputes see Israel's Perry, *From Theology to History*.

¹³ Hubert Bost wrote that 'Bayle décide de répliquer et publie un très virulent pamphlet qui subvertit le titre flagorneur de Gautereau.' Bost, *Pierre Bayle*, p.285. See also Robert, Pailhès and Bost (eds), *Le Rayonnement de Bayle*, p.2.

¹⁴ Israel's Perry, *From Theology to History*, p.16.

¹⁵ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', p.73.

¹⁶ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.45.

had in mind. At another point, Bayle takes issue with a justification that Gautereau provided in his text for the conversion of children who are seven years old.¹⁷ Again, no specific text or author is cited. The author is referred to as 'Un de vos Missionnaires à pension'. There is little biographical information available about Gautereau.¹⁸ However, the fact that he dedicated his text to Monseigneur Camille de Neufville, the archbishop of Lyon would suggest that either he was seeking a pension or was already in receipt of one. Nonetheless, the fact that this argument features in the writings of other pensioned authors means that it is possible that he was not referring to Gautereau here. Thus, while it is probable that Bayle read Gautereau's text and may even have intended to refute some of his arguments in the pamphlet, the fact that Gautereau's arguments were not subject to the overt and extensive criticism which those of Maimbourg suffered in the *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme* would suggest that a refutation of Gautereau was not Bayle's primary goal in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

A second textual reason which supports my argument that Bayle's pamphlet was not a direct response to Gautereau's text is the disparity in the length of the two works. In *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* Bayle did not and could not possibly address all of the arguments put forward by Gautereau in the course of three volumes. Armstrong, having also observed the mismatched length of the two texts, accounted for it by stating that the Catholic canon's letter allowed Bayle's pamphlet 'to be read as a self-enclosed text, a self-defining entity; it is not necessary to have read Gautereau or any other Catholic apologist in order to judge the validity of what Protestant B [the writer of the second letter] says because Bayle has incorporated their ideas and language into his text'.¹⁹ While I agree with Armstrong that it was not necessary for the reader of Bayle's pamphlet to have read Gautereau's book in order to understand *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, this poses a quandary in terms of our understanding of the pamphlet. If Gautereau's text is not necessary to our understanding of his pamphlet, why did Bayle so overtly reference the title of Gautereau's book? Bayle's appropriation of the title of Gautereau's text almost seems to misguide the reader: the reader is left questioning the relationship of Bayle's pamphlet to Gautereau's text. The intertextual reference in this instance

¹⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.47.

¹⁸ Bayle, p.47.

¹⁹ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', pp.78-79.

proves misleading. The use of the title tends *prima facie* to obscure rather than to clarify the relationship between Bayle's intervention and that of Gautereau and indeed any other Catholic controversialists.

The third reason in support of the argument that Gautereau's text was not Bayle's primary target, which is contextual, is that Bayle published his pamphlet fifteen months after the appearance of Gautereau's text. From Bayle's extant correspondence it is evident that Bayle knew of Gautereau's text quite soon after it was initially published in 1684. Daniel de Larroque (1660-1731), a regular correspondent of Bayle's, who collaborated with him on the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, ultimately assuming the role of editor, informed Bayle about Gautereau's text in a letter dated 27 November 1684.²⁰ Despite the fact that in this letter, Bayle was told that 'l'auteur de *La France toute catholique*' was one of two of the 'antagonistes' who were writing against Bayle, Larroque also informed him that it was a text, 'qui fait si peu de bruit qu'aucun catholique ne le connoit encore'.²¹ Thus, in November 1684, Gautereau's *La France toute Catholique* was, according to Larroque, largely unknown and in such a situation, a refutation of the text would most likely be counter-productive, serving ultimately to publicise the views that one wanted to refute. Moreover, despite Larroque's report and Gautereau's claim in the 'Avertissement' in the first volume of his text, that he will refute all Protestant apologetic texts written and all those to come as they established 'des principes incontestables pour servir de reponse plausible a toutes les objections sophistiques, que les Sectaires emploient a justifier leurs rebellions, & a dissimuler l'antipathie naturelle de leur Parti contre la Monarchie', throughout the three volumes, Jurieu's texts, particularly *La Politique du Clergé*, are the primary target of Gautereau's overt criticisms.²² Furthermore, although little is known of Gautereau, except that, according to his own text, he had been a 'député des Eglises protestantes de Poitou', we can surmise from this and from Larroque's comment about how little impact his text had made, that his standing in terms of the controversy would not have been considered sufficient to make him worthy of a response from Bayle.²³ Thus, even if

²⁰ Israel's Perry, *From Theology to History*, p.215. Bayle, *Correspondance*, v, Letter from Daniel de Larroque to Pierre Bayle dated 27th Nov., 1684, p.162.

²¹ Bayle, *Correspondance*, p.162.

²² Gautereau, *La France toute Catholique*, I, Avertissement.

²³ Gautereau, *La France toute Catholique* [Table of Contents].

Bayle wanted to defend the writings of his friend, there was no particular impetus for him to undertake a refutation of Gautereau's book at the end of 1684.

These three factors would suggest that the relationship of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* to Gautereau's text is more complicated and indirect in contextual terms than Bayle's appropriation of the title of Gautereau's text might suggest. It is evident that Gautereau's text on its own is not sufficient to constitute the primary context for Bayle's pamphlet. In order to understand the relationship between Bayle's and Gautereau's texts, then, it is necessary to identify what changed in late 1685 or early 1686 to cause Bayle to appropriate the title of Gautereau's text. Thus far, the fact that Gautereau's book was re-issued 'chez R. Pepie' in Paris in 1685 (perhaps making Bayle fear the book would gain prominence) is the only contextual factor which can account for the fact that this text came to Bayle's notice again. Although, there is no evidence that Bayle was informed of this in his extant correspondence, it is highly likely that Bayle, in his role as editor of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, would have come across this information, either in a letter which has not survived or in one of the other journals of the time. This again points towards the necessity of examining sources pertaining to the journals in the Republic of Letters in order to more fully account both for why Bayle chose to appropriate the title of Gautereau's text and also for the delay between the publishing of Gautereau's text and Bayle's use of the title.

The persecution of Huguenots during the months surrounding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is undeniably an important contextual factor for Bayle's pamphlet. Nonetheless, elucidating Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in biographical terms is not unproblematic, nor has it proven to be particularly productive. While neither the imponderable grief occasioned by the death of his elder brother nor its impact can be measured, the question must nonetheless be posed as to why Bayle would chose to risk his reputation within the Republic of Letters by publishing this pamphlet. Or to put it more simply what could he have hoped to achieve with his pamphlet? There are a number of possible explanations. Scholars have employed rhetorical readings of the pamphlet, which I will discuss in detail in a later chapter, to explain both the tone of

the pamphlet and Bayle's intention in writing it.²⁴ For now it is sufficient to note that the various rhetorical strategies, which scholars have suggested are at work in the pamphlet, imply that a biographical explanation, specifically the death of Bayle's elder brother, for the first Huguenot's angry tone is not sufficient. In order to explain the shift in tone, scholars have had recourse to the intellectual concerns and principles which permeate Bayle's other texts. Despite these broad appeals to context to explain the rhetorical structure of the text and the acknowledged overlap in content and concerns between Bayle's pamphlet and his journal, no detailed study has been undertaken to examine the relationship of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* to Bayle's previous or contemporary writings, particularly the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. The comments of Jean-Michel Gros and Hubert Bost on the pamphlet nonetheless point to an approach to and understanding of it, which could prove highly productive. Gros has suggested that Bayle's pamphlet functions as a pair text with the *Commentaire Philosophique*.²⁵ Gros's suggestion is significant because it allows the pamphlet to function within and contribute to the Baylean corpus, rather than to represent a momentary aberration at a time of immense personal difficulties. Moreover, Gros's explanation, predicated upon a specific understanding of the rhetorical structure of the pamphlet, suggests that in writing *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* Bayle was commenting upon the dynamic of the religious controversy.²⁶ Functioning as a commentator upon intellectual disputes, including those pertaining to the religious controversy, was the role which he had carved out for himself as the editor of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. This points towards the need to analyse *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in the light of Bayle's discussion of the religious controversy in his journal. This necessity of such a study is also highlighted by Hubert Bost's comment in his detailed study of Bayle as a *journaliste*. In terms of the substantive claims in the pamphlet Bost situates *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* firmly in the context of Bayle's discussion pertaining to the religious controversy in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Bost wrote that '[l]a dénonciation des pratiques de conversion forcée ponctue largement l'analyse mensuelle des livres recensés, mais

²⁴ See ch.5, pp.149-51.

²⁵ Gros, 'La Tolérance et le problème théologico-politique', in McKenna and Paganini (eds), *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres*, 411-439, pp.416-20.

²⁶ Gros, 'La Tolérance et le Problème théologico-politique' in McKenna and Paganini (eds), *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres*, pp.416-420.

elle n'explose véritablement que dans le pamphlet *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique*'.²⁷ Thus, there may be scope to extend our understanding of the pamphlet by means of viewing it, not as an aberration within the Baylean corpus, but rather by analysing it as functioning within and contributing to the intellectual perspective of that corpus. While Gros has suggested a way to understand the pamphlet in terms of its relationship with the *Commentaire Philosophique*, Bost's description of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* points to the necessity of looking back at its relationship with Bayle's treatment of the religious controversy and the persecution in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.

From this discussion, it is evident that the reference points currently used to contextualise Bayle's pamphlet have not yet been exploited to their full potential as a number of questions remain unanswered regarding his writing of that pamphlet. There is clearly a need for an explanation for Bayle's appropriation of the title of Gautereau's text fifteen months after its publication. Moreover, in the light of the comments of several Baylean scholars, the appropriate place to look to expand the scope of the context of Bayle's pamphlet is in the journals of the Republic of Letters. Bayle never discussed Gautereau's text in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. However, it was not necessary to look far for a starting period. Gautereau's *La France toute Catholique* had been reviewed in the 17 February 1686 issue of the *Journal des Sçavans*, just a month prior to the publication of Bayle's pamphlet.²⁸ This review made reference to two disputes which the editor of the *Journal des Sçavans* was engaged upon with Bayle. It will be the work of the remainder of this chapter and of the next to trace these two disputes and to see how they relate to the genesis of the pamphlet.

First, however, as Bayle's roles as editor of his journal and as a self-declared member of the Republic of Letters will be shown to be key contextual reference points for our understanding of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, it is necessary to outline the characteristics of the Republic of Letters and then to discuss how he saw himself contributing to and promoting it with his journal.

²⁷ Bost, *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre*, p.189.

²⁸ Jean Paul de La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans pour l'année M. DC. LXXXVI* (Paris: Jean Cusson, 1686), 17 Feb., 1686, pp.37-41.

As has been observed by Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet in *La République des Lettres*, the Republic of Letters (often referred to in its Latin form, *respublica litteraria*) evades concise definition.²⁹ The Republic of Letters was an inter- or supra-national community concerned with the advancement and diffusion of knowledge, which spanned the Renaissance to the Enlightenment.³⁰ In terms of membership of the Republic of Letters, initially the term primarily included the intellectual elite.³¹ However, by the late seventeenth century, when Bayle was writing, membership has extended to include active and contributing intellectuals as well as passive interested consumers of both genders.³² The Republic of Letters existed solely through its citizens, as it had no formal structure, regulatory body or established laws.³³ This is one of the reasons why it is difficult to provide a strict definition of the Republic of Letters: the values and characteristics associated with how the Republic of Letters should achieve its aims, varied to a certain extent in the conception of each member. The primary concern, however, of the Republic of Letters was to further knowledge. Consequently, many of the characteristics associated with the Republic of Letters can be interpreted as means by which things which inhibit the progress of knowledge might themselves be restricted. The national and political affiliations, as well as the religious affiliations of intellectuals could result in bias or prejudice, which could impede the pursuit of truth. Thus, ideally, the Republic of Letters was supposed to be supra-national and open to people of all faiths, thereby removing these sources of bias. The reality of the situation is that its members often found themselves conflicted by what Bots and Waquet termed their 'double appartenance', and they often fought the corner of a given allegiance, rather than overcoming them in the pursuit of truth.³⁴ To sustain and encourage this pursuit of knowledge, other values were also considered necessary. As Anne Goldgar points out, there was a non-formalised, implicit code of conduct that governed the interactions of these *hommes illustres*, in order to foster a co-operative space for the pursuit of knowledge.³⁵ This code became evident

²⁹ Bots and Waquet, *La République des Lettres*, p.11.

³⁰ The first known use of the term was in a letter dated 6 July 1417 from Francesco Barbaro to Poggio Bracciolini. See Bots and Waquet, p.11.

³¹ Bots and Waquet, p.13.

³² Bost, *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre*, p.119.

³³ Bots and Waquet, *La République des Lettres*, p.91.

³⁴ Bots and Waquet, pp.23-4.

³⁵ Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, p.2.

primarily when one of the rules was transgressed.³⁶ The result of this was that the exchanges between scholars were often as concerned with how one's opinion was expressed as with what opinion they defended, if not more so. Thus, civility was often considered as an important characteristic of the Republic of Letters. As the Tuscan intellectual Anton Maria Salvini wrote, the Republic of Letters was 'partout où l'on trouve de la gentillesse, de la politesse et de la civilité'.³⁷ Finally, the equality of its citizens was thought necessary with the result that each citizen had the right to criticize the work of another member. No member was to have claims to authority over another or over any aspect of knowledge. These were the ideals to which the Republic of Letters aspired and of which its members so often fell short.

Bayle, unlike many of his fellow citizens, did provide a description of his conception of the Republic of Letters. In the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* Bayle wrote on the Republic of Letters that:

Cette République est un Etat extrêmement libre. On n'y reconnoit que l'empire de la Vérité & de la Raison, & sous leurs auspices on fait la guerre innocemment à qui que ce soit [...] Chacun y est tout ensemble Souverain, & justiciable de chacun. Les Loix de la Société n'ont pas fait de préjudice à l'indépendance de l'état de Nature, par rapport à l'erreur & à l'ignorance: tous les particuliers ont à cet égard le droit du glaive, & le peuvent exercer sans en demander la permission à ceux qui gouvernent. Il est bien aisé de connoître pourquoi la Puissance Souveraine a dû laisser à chacun le droit d'écrire contre les Auteurs qui se trompent, mais non pas celui de publier des Satires.³⁸

Bayle believed that truth and reason alone should govern the Republic.³⁹ Intellectual independence was, therefore, very important to him. He also asserted the equal right of citizens to attack each other's work, but only in the appropriate manner and for the purpose of promoting accurate knowledge. For Bayle, criticism should focus on the content of a person's work, rather than on the person himself. However, in giving a critic the 'droit du glaive', he seems to be advocating a merciless and unrestricted attack on the content of an argument, rather than the tame civility advocated by Salvini. In the *Critique Générale*, Bayle also wrote that:

Il y a des circonstances où l'on doit excuser les emportemens d'un livre, parce qu'il faut les regarder comme un châtement nécessaire de ces Tyrans qui veulent dominer sur les esprits. Il emporte au bien general de la Republique des lettres, la plus libre, & la plus indépendante de toutes les Societez, que

³⁶ Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, p.2.

³⁷ As quoted in Bots and Waquet, *La République des Lettres*, p.70.

³⁸ Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, II, art., Catius, rem [D],102.

³⁹ For further discussion of this quotation in relation to Bayle's views on how history should be written see Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition*, p.88.

personne n'entreprenne impunément sur la liberté des autres, & que l'on fasse sentir avec usure à ceux qui foulent aux pieds les reigles de l'honnêteté, ce qu'ils ont fait sentir à leurs Confreres.⁴⁰

He was in line with the opinions of his contemporaries in the position that he affirms here. If an author transgressed the rules of *honnêteté* then it was permissible for those rebuking them to do likewise, or to put it another way one could return like for like. Overall, Bayle's conception of the Republic of Letters corresponds to the general outline provided above.

In his journal, Bayle declared his intention to abide by the conduct and intellectual principles prescribed by the ideals of the Republic of Letters. He wrote in the preface to the first issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* that: 'Il ne s'agit point ici de religion; il s'agit de science.'⁴¹ For Bayle, in this community the common goal is 'science', rather than the promotion of a particular religious position. In her thesis, Armstrong points out that Bayle made this statement in reference only to eulogies of Protestants and Catholics and, therefore it should not be presented as governing his whole journalistic enterprise.⁴² While I concede that Armstrong was correct as regards the statement referring to one particular aspect of the journal, in a letter dated 17 April 1684 to his brother Joseph, he wrote: 'Vous verrez par ma preface que je parlerai indifferemment des livres catholiques et reformez, et honnetement de tout le monde'.⁴³ It was Bayle's intention that his preface as a whole be understood as espousing the values of neutrality and impartiality in the pursuit of 'science'. While scholars' representation of the statement itself is somewhat misleading, ultimately using this statement axiomatically does not misrepresent Bayle's intentions in writing the journal. He did intend to uphold the values of the Republic of Letters by attempting to separate intellectual concerns from the political and religious concerns and demands of the world in which scholars lived, such as the religious controversy.⁴⁴

However, this did not mean that events, disputes or texts pertaining to religious controversy would not be discussed by the members of the Republic of

⁴⁰ Bayle, *Nouvelles lettres de l'auteur de la Critique Generale*, I, p.178.

⁴¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Mar., 1684, Preface.

⁴² Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', pp.26-7.

⁴³ Bayle, *Correspondance*, IV, Letter from Pierre Bayle to Joseph Bayle dated 17 April 1684, p.85.

⁴⁴ Whether or not Bayle lived up to these principles in writing the journal is much debated among scholars. Contemporary criticisms of bias were generally not levelled at the journal as whole, but usually only at particular comments or articles. See Bost, *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre*, p.134.

Letters. Bost tells us that the religious controversy was by far the most important topic in Bayle's journal, with almost eighty articles or catalogue notices being dedicated to it.⁴⁵ As will become evident in the first section of this thesis, the religious bias inherent in the writings pertaining to the controversy in France meant that they were often the subject of Bayle's criticisms in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. This was particularly true of biased histories, as, in his eyes, nowhere was impartiality more crucial than in the writing of histories.⁴⁶

Although one of the functions of his journal was to evaluate the various texts that were published, Bayle did not think that his role as editor was that of a pronouncer of authoritative judgements. While he offered evaluations and judgements upon texts, he also invited his readers, or indeed the author of a text, to defend their texts or correct his information or understanding.⁴⁷ These replies would then be published in the journal. Moreover, as will be seen later in this chapter, the editor of other journals such as the *Journal des Sçavans* or the *Mercure Galant* would often dispute or criticize Bayle's reviews of a text. In various texts, Bayle advocated the idea that 'un homme qui se veut instruire à fond d'un procès, doit ouïr les deux parties dans leur Repliques'.⁴⁸ His support of this idea can be interpreted as deriving from two possible sources. First, his intellectual principles would militate in favour of a substantive debate in which all aspects of an issue are examined. This would be especially important in cases where two different versions of a historical event were put forward, for example. Second, he could also have wanted that the cause of the persecuted Huguenots, his co-religionists, would be heard. It seems likely that this desire to present both sides of an argument had a double motivation. The result or perhaps the aim of this presentation of both sides of a debate, as both Armstrong and Bost rightly perceive, was to engage the critical judgement of the reader.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Bost, *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre*, p.48.

⁴⁶ In the *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* Bayle wrote that in writing as a historian: 'Je ne suis ni Français, ni Allemand, ni Anglais, ni Espagnol. Je suis habitant du monde. Je ne suis au service de l'empereur, ni au service du roi de France, mais seulement au service de la vérité'. See IV, article Usson rem F, p.486. Thus, intellectual independence was of key importance in order to write impartial histories.

⁴⁷ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Jan., 1685, Preface.

⁴⁸ Bayle, *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur*, I, p.343.

⁴⁹ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', pp.41, 50. See also Bost, *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre*, p.85.

With this understanding of Bayle's position in the Republic of Letters and of his intellectual project, as evident in his journal, it is now necessary to say something of the relationship between Bayle and the editor of the *Journal des Sçavans* in order to understand the dynamic of their established relationship.

Bayle, abiding by the ideals of the Republic of Letters, engaged in a *commercium litterarium* with the editors of other literary journals across Europe either through private correspondence or published exchanges when he began his own journal, the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Among those with whom Bayle corresponded was the editor of the *Journal des Sçavans* from January 1675, the Abbé Jean-Paul de la Roque. Little is known of the life of the *abbé*, other than the fact that he was born in Albi and spent some time with the Jesuits, before he moved to Paris.⁵⁰ La Roque edited two journals other than the *Journal des Sçavans*, one on ecclesiastical history and the other on medicine.⁵¹ Following the establishment of Bayle's journal, La Roque instigated the first contact between the two editors.⁵² He wrote to Bayle in a letter dated 28 August 1684, suggesting that they should agree to exchange copies of their respective journals. The letter contains the expected platitudes with La Roque asserting his admiration for Bayle. The *abbé* concludes his letter saying: 'Quand j'auray l'honneur d'estre plus connu de vous que je ne le suis, nostre commerce pourra peut estre n'estre pas tout à fait inutile à la République des Lettres'. The spirit in which *commercium litterarium* was undertaken was one of cooperation in the hope that it may prove useful to the scholarly world. Bayle replied favourably to La Roque's letter. However, the seemingly hopeful beginning to the intellectual exchange between these two *journalistes* soon gave way to more troubled relations.

Bayle, in undertaking the production of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, was facilitating the *commerce* which was a fundamental aspect of the Republic of Letters. However, there were already other journals carrying out this function. Despite the fact that the pursuit of knowledge was supposedly or ideally a communal effort, the reality was that another literary journal was both commercial

⁵⁰ Betty Trebelle Morgan, *Histoire du Journal des Sçavans depuis 1665 jusqu'en 1701* (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1928), p.176.

⁵¹ Trebelle Morgan, *Histoire du Journal des Sçavans*, p.176.

⁵² On the history of the *Journal des Sçavans* see Trebelle Morgan, *Histoire du Journal des Sçavans* and more recently Raymond Birn, 'Le Journal des Savants sous l'Ancien Régime', *Journal des savants* (1965), 15-35.

and intellectual competition. Bayle was aware of this fact. In the preface to the first issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, he praised existing literary journals, including the *Journal des Sçavans* stating that:

Quand je songe aux diverses matieres qu'il [son journal] doit embrasser, à la beauté des Journaux que monsieur de La Roque fait à Paris, et que d'autres personnes très-habiles font à Leipsic, en Angleterre et ailleurs, peu s'en faut que je n'abandonne cette entreprise comme trop au-dessus de mes forces.⁵³

Armstrong concludes from this praise that for Bayle the *Journal des Sçavans* was 'the absolute referent for a scholarly journal, the model to which all subsequent ones should aspire'.⁵⁴ The rhetorical trope at the end of the quotation nonetheless detracts from the force of Bayle's feigned modesty and therefore also his praise of La Roque. While I would by no means suggest that these words of praise are empty ones, I am more inclined to agree with Bost, who sees this praise in a strategic light also. Bost argues that by casting himself as an imitator of La Roque Bayle was attempting to ensure that his journal would not be seen as an attack or competition to any of the literary journals across Europe.⁵⁵ Bayle stated in the preface of his journal that:

Si quelqu'un s'avisait de m'objecter, qu'on voit déjà assez de gens dans l'Europe qui publient des Ouvrages semblables à celui que j'entreprends ... je lui répondrais, que la multitude des Journaux n'empêche pas qu'un grand nombre de Curieux ne demeure dans la disette; qu'il se fait beaucoup de Livres dont les Journaux ne parlent pas, qu'il y en a bien d'autres dont ils ne parlent pas assez tôt ... qu'ainsi la commodité publique demande, que plusieurs personnes travaillent à cela en plusieurs lieux à la fois.⁵⁶

With this statement, Bayle justified his establishment of a further journal by stating that the existing journals were not discussing all of the books that were being published. He tactfully, or rather strategically, avoided openly stating that the reason for this was that books by heterodox authors would not be discussed in a journal such as the *Journal des Sçavans*, which was dependent on a *privilège du roi*. Nonetheless, Bayle's reference to 'la disette' suggests that he was thinking in particular of the lack of reviews of books by Protestant authors, particularly in French journals. The passing of a law, on 25 August 1685 in France, banning the discussion of all texts defending the Protestant position can be seen as an effort to clamp down on one of the means by which censorship was circumvented, that is the

⁵³ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 1 Mar., 1684, Preface. All page references will be to the *NRL* pagination, rather than to that of the Slatkine edition.

⁵⁴ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', p.11.

⁵⁵ Bost, *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre*, p.82.

⁵⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 1, Mar., 1684, Preface.

production of so-called refutations of Protestant texts in literary journals, which actually helped to disseminate the ideas of the authors of these texts.⁵⁷ Bayle's journal would therefore, take up this slack.⁵⁸ As a result, the journal was invested in or dedicated to the dissemination of the Protestant position in the religious controversy. To an extent this functioned to re-assert a confessional balance in the intellectual journals published across Europe. Nonetheless, as will become apparent, in the context of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Bayle's reviews of Protestant texts often served to express his own criticisms. In a situation where each journal would discuss the same book, it was claimed that this would generally not be disagreeable for the reader, as each journal would probably treat of the text differently.⁵⁹ Thus, Bayle attempted to create room for his new journal without appearing to desire to threaten the readership of other journals, adhering to the ideal of communal effort in the pursuit of knowledge, which was espoused by members of the Republic of Letters.

Despite Bayle's attempt to allay the concern that his journal would be competition for the other journals, La Roque did nonetheless seem to think that it was a threat to the future of his own journal. According to Trebelle Morgan, the *Journal des Sçavans* was not thriving under La Roque's editorship. While La Roque was much more conscientious about regular publication of issues of the journal than his predecessors, he lacked the necessary talent and personality for the task.⁶⁰ Although La Roque would presumably not share this point of view, he was criticised for prizing quantity over quality.⁶¹ Bayle's style and precision of knowledge, on the other hand, soon earned a significant readership for the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. It is conceivable then that La Roque may have felt threatened and angry when it became apparent that Bayle was tapping the same sources for information as he used. In the issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* from 29 January 1685, La Roque criticised some friends, with whom he had shared various bits of information, for passing it on to Bayle, before he himself had the opportunity to publish it. Labrousse

⁵⁷ Léon Pilatte (ed.), *Recueil des Édits, Déclaration et Arrests concernant la Religion P. Réformée, 1662-1751, précédés de l'Édit de Nantes* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1885), pp.224-6.

⁵⁸ Therefore, Bayle's journal was invested in or dedicated to the dissemination of the Protestant position in the religious controversy. To an extent this functioned to re-assert a confessional balance in the intellectual journals published across Europe.

⁵⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Mar., 1684, Preface.

⁶⁰ Trebelle Morgan, *Histoire du Journal des Sçavans*, pp.186-7.

⁶¹ Trebelle Morgan, p.182.

suggests that, having discovered that his acquaintances were passing information on to Bayle, La Roque passed on misinformation so that Bayle's reputation would be tarnished.⁶² Indeed, many contemporaries believed that this, on top of the popularity of Bayle's journal, had prompted La Roque to have the sale of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* banned from January 1685.⁶³ Although their private correspondance was, consequently, minimal and ultimately petered out when they each gave up their positions as editors, in the interim Bayle and La Roque continued to exchange issues of their respective journals and maintained a *commercium litterarium* through exchanges in their journals.

This *commercium litterarium* was evident, on occasion, in the prefaces of their respective journals, but more often in the body of articles which discussed texts that both Bayle and La Roque had reviewed. It manifested itself in the form of innocuous acknowledgements of a debt of information to the other journal (in instances where one journal has provided information about a text of which the other was as yet unaware), or in more positive affirmations of the other journal (when they referred their readers to reviews in the other journal, not deeming it necessary to provide another review) and finally in more tendentious exchanges between the editors. Two disputes in particular, between Bayle and La Roque, formed part of the specific context which precipitated the writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss one of the disputes between these two *journalistes* which was referred to in La Roque's review of Gautereau's text. The origins of this dispute are evident in the conflicting reviews given by these two *journalistes* about the writings of Louis Ferrand. The links between the key sources relevant to this dispute were identified by the editors of Bayle's *Correspondance*; however, it was outside the scope of their already extensive project to undertake an examination of them.⁶⁴ Consequently, the implications of

⁶² 'Il [La Roque] était en tous cas si désireux de dénigrer son rival qu'il alla jusqu'à s'en procurer l'occasion en fournissant à Janiçon des renseignements partiellement inexacts au sujet des réunions de numismates dont devait sortir plus tard l'Académie des Inscriptions'. Labrousse, 'Les coulisses du Journal de Bayle', in Paul Dibon (ed.), *Pierre Bayle: Le Philosophe de Rotterdam* (Paris: Vrin, 1959), 97-141, p.115.

⁶³ Labrousse, 'Les Coulisses du Journal de Bayle', in Dibon (ed.), *Pierre Bayle: Le Philosophe de Rotterdam*, p.115.

⁶⁴ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter from Jean Claude to Pierre Bayle dated 28 Mar., 1686, p.345, n.3.

these sources and their relevance to the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* were not noted. Therefore, it will be the work of this chapter to carry out this analysis.

Bayle's critical review of Ferrand's *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»* in the July 1685 issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* was one of the foundation stones of this dispute. Bayle's attitude to Ferrand evolved over time. He acknowledged that Ferrand, who initially trained as a lawyer and served in the Parlement of Paris, was a man of significant learning. Indeed, he praised Ferrand's *Réflexions sur la religion chrétienne* (1679), stating that it was 'un livre qui est fort savant et fort curieux', in a letter to Vincent Minutoli dated 26 May 1679.⁶⁵ Ferrand's writings cover both theology and history, including *Réflexions sur la religion chrétienne*, a commentary on the Psalms in Latin (1683) and a *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques, principalement contre les Calvinistes* (1685).⁶⁶ It was a result of his writing on issues pertaining to the religious controversy that he suffered criticism from Bayle.

Ferrand's writings procured for him the notice and favour of Colbert, Contrôleur général des finances (1665-83), as well as that of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.⁶⁷ According to Daniel Larroque, the archbishop of Paris, François de Harlay de Champvallon (1625-1695), had commissioned Ferrand to write against Bayle's *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme*, as well as against the *Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme* of Bayle's compatriot and friend, the Huguenot theologian and controversialist, Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713).⁶⁸ However, Larroque's letter of September 1684 made it clear that it was Jurieu's *Politique du Clergé* that would suffer most under Ferrand's criticisms: 'Vôtre amy [Jurieu] selon toutes les apparences en souffrira plus que vous, parce qu'il a avancé divers faits qu'on seroit assez embar[r]assé à prouver'.⁶⁹ Thus, while Ferrand criticized the writings of his friends and co-religionists, Bayle did not come under particular attack. Bayle's suspicions of Ferrand's contributions to the religious controversy

⁶⁵ Bayle, *Correspondance*, III, Letter from Pierre Bayle to Vincent Minutoli dated 26 May 1679, p.181.

⁶⁶ Robert Watt (ed.), *Bibliotheca Britannica*, (Great Britain: Routledge, 1995), p.363.

⁶⁷ Israëls Perry, *From Theology to History*, p.212.

⁶⁸ Bayle, *Correspondance*, V, Letter from Daniel de Larroque to Pierre Bayle dated Aug.,- Sept., 1684, p.68.

⁶⁹ Bayle, p.63.

were undoubtedly raised because of the *pension* which the latter received from the Catholic Church in France. Shortly before his review of the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»*, Bayle had learned that this *pension* had been increased. He was informed of this in a letter dated 27 July 1685 from François Janiçon, a regular correspondent of his. Janiçon wrote:

Je ne scay pas de combien estoit celle [la pension] qu'on faisoit au s[ieu]r Ferrand, et je scay seulement que cette assemblée l'a augmentée de 200 l[ivres] tournois en faveur des 2 nouveaux livres qu'il vient de publier en mesme tems.⁷⁰

Bayle's abhorrence for such venality is evident throughout his writings, and notable in the comments of the first Huguenot letter in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, where Ferrand suffered an isolated assault. When praising Jurieu's *Apologie de la Reformation*, the Huguenot directly addressed the reader:

Lisez, si vous ne l'avez pas leuë, l'Histoire du Papisme dans l'Apologie de la Réformation; Histoire si bien prouvée que vôtre Mr. Ferrand païé & gagé par le Clergé pour écrire contre nous n'a osé toucher à cette corde, s'étant contenté de répondre à d'autres petites objections, ce qui est justement imiter un Chirurgien qui se contenteroit de guêrir une égratignûre à un homme qui auroit 6. ou 7. coups d'épée à travers le corps.⁷¹

The direct address to the reader makes the criticism of Ferrand all the more obvious and palpable. The tone was acerbic and disdainful when speaking of 'vôtre Mr. Ferrand'. This was added to by the phrase 'païé & gagé', which placed emphasis on the fact that Ferrand received money for his writings, casting him very much as a creature of the Catholic Church. It is evident from Bayle's own life that he prized intellectual independence, seeing it as a necessity for the pursuit of truth. He turned down the offer to work as historiographer to William of Orange where he would enjoy a better wage and more security but would lose his independence both intellectual and personal as he would have to play the courtier.⁷² In his eyes, then, Ferrand's *pension* compromised his intellectual independence and negated his claims to objectivity or to be searching for the truth.

The information from Janiçon, received immediately prior to Bayle's review of the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»*, even though it probably did not directly prompt the review, certainly would have made him less than sympathetic to

⁷⁰ Bayle, *Correspondance*, v, Letter from François Janiçon to Pierre Bayle dated Paris 27 Jul., 1685, p.455. See also note 26, p.458.

⁷¹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.38.

⁷² Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', p.9.

Ferrand's writings at the time. The final straw was presumably the favourable review of another of Ferrand's works, the *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques, principalement contre les Calvinistes*, in the 23 July 1685 issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* by La Roque. The intellectual principles of the journal and of the wider community of the Republic of Letters would have dictated that the bias of Ferrand's work should be noted in his review. La Roque's review of Ferrand's text will be shown to have influenced not only Bayle's decision to use the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* as his vehicle of reply, but also some of the issues that Bayle addressed in his review.

Bayle opened his review of the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Réformation»* with a brief biography of Ferrand, listing some of his writings and praising some of his intellectual achievements, saying: '[i]l s'est fort appliqué à l'étude de l'Hebreu, ce qui est fort rare en France sur tout parmi les Juriconsultes'.⁷³ His treatment of Ferrand here contrasts sharply with the overt and devastating attack upon Claude's reputation in La Roque's review of the *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques* the previous month. La Roque's review focused on pointing out Ferrand's refutation of Claude's arguments. Moreover, it highlighted two places where Ferrand supposedly proved that Claude 'a imposé au Public & trompé ses disciples'.⁷⁴ Bayle's description of Ferrand and his work was less overtly critical: it is unclear in a number of places whether he was merely describing, praising or in fact criticising Ferrand. For example, he wrote: 'Cette sorte d'étude ne l'empêche pas de lire les Peres avec une grande application; il en cite un si prodigieux nombre qu'on diroit que son livre n'en est qu'un tissu perpetuel'.⁷⁵ The fact that an author was familiar with the writings of the Church Fathers would have been considered a positive attribute by both Catholics and Protestants alike. However, Protestants did not consider the writings of the Church Fathers to have the same authority that Catholics attributed to them. Thus, on the one hand, a Catholic might think that the argument in Ferrand's text gained in authority on the basis of its correlation with the writings of the Church Fathers. On the other hand, a Protestant would not find the same weight in this 'tissu perpetuel'. More significantly, Bayle's comment could also suggest that there was

⁷³ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Jul., 1685, art. iii, p.809.

⁷⁴ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans pour l'année . DC. LXXXV* (Paris: Jean Cusson, 1685) 23 July 1685, p.272-3.

⁷⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, July 1685, art. iii, p.809.

little or no critical thought behind Ferrand's patchwork quilt of quotations. This would also function as a criticism of La Roque's review which insisted that the strength of Ferrand's arguments lay in the fact that they were based upon the writings of the Church Fathers.⁷⁶ The ambiguity in Bayle's tone led into more overt criticism.

Bayle's primary criticism of Ferrand was that 'il écrit avec une si grande modération qu'il craint de se servir d'un mot trop rude lors qu'il dit aux gens qu'ils se trompent'.⁷⁷ While initially this comment could also be read as a compliment, considering the importance that contemporary French culture placed on not doing anything that would 'choquer la bienséance', and the importance attributed to civility in intellectual exchanges by members of the Republic of Letters, Bayle's intended meaning becomes explicit throughout the article. He continues: 'Cependant il ne blâme point ceux qui font mourir les Hérétiques'.⁷⁸ The tone and content of Ferrand's text, to Bayle, seemed ill-matched. He ruefully noted Ferrand's logic: 'il trouve plus raisonnable de ne point pousser la sévérité jusques là [i.e. to criticism of forced conversions]'.⁷⁹ With this comment, he highlighted the hypocrisy of Ferrand's position: not only would Ferrand not employ a verbal form of violence against those who employed physical violence against the heretics, nor would he even let his language reflect the violence of their actions. Bayle's criticism of Ferrand highlights the important role of intellectuals as social commentators to regulate behaviour and to influence policy. Ferrand's fault in style was aggravated, in Bayle's eyes, by the fact that he employed it to argue that 'si sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne exposoit les Huguenots à des peines très-rigoureuses, il ne feroit rien qui ne fut conforme à la pratique des plus pieux Empereurs & à la doctrine de Saint Augustin'.⁸⁰ Thus, in this dispute, as will be seen to be the case in the second dispute, the issue of the legitimacy of forced conversions was raised. However, while the discussion of this issue in the second dispute will be seen to focus upon the substantive claims based upon scriptural interpretation, in this dispute Bayle's criticism focused upon the relationship between the style and substantive claims of Catholic authors. The incongruity between the style and substance of Ferrand's text led him to the

⁷⁶ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 23 July 1685, p.263.

⁷⁷ Bayle, p.809.

⁷⁸ Bayle, p.809.

⁷⁹ Bayle, p.809.

⁸⁰ Bayle, p.809.

conclusion that 'la modération du stile est un signe fort équivoque'.⁸¹ Thus, he was critical of the fact that Ferrand's style did not reflect the violence which it disguised or at least did not condemn.

In the remainder of the review, Bayle addressed a work which Ferrand had published at the same time, entitled *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques principalement contre les Calvinistes*. This is the text which La Roque had reviewed in the second July issue of the *Journal des Sçavans*. Bayle did not directly refute any of La Roque's comments on this text, nor did he defend Claude against his criticisms. Nonetheless, his review can be seen to respond in some ways to La Roque's review.

Bayle's review of the second of Ferrand's texts, the *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques principalement contre les Calvinistes* is hardly worthy of the name. He did not detail the progression of Ferrand's arguments, rather his criticisms in this section of the review primarily tended to demonstrate the interminable nature of the religious controversy. His choice of emphasis here could have been prompted by La Roque's assertion in his review of the *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques* that Ferrand 'y confond tous les heretiques en fort peu de lignes d'une maniere si invincible' that even if their obstinacy prevents Protestant ministers from seeing the truth, at the very least 'ceux qu'ils seduisent seront assez heureux pour ouvrir les yeux à la faveur de cet ouvrage'.⁸² Bayle, in his review, noted that the prejudices of both sides inhibited progress in the religious controversy: 'pendant qu'on s'amusera d'un côté à soutenir que les Protestans sont des calomnieurs, & de l'autre que l'Eglise Romaine est la Babilon de l'Apocalypse, que gagnera-t-on?'⁸³ He remarked that each side would always find support for their charges against the other in the extensive annals of history. Bayle praised the fact that Ferrand had reduced the religious controversy to the one main issue. However, he immediately subverted this praise, noting that in this situation eventually one of the confessions would have to lose this ground, unless of course 'les Peres ne viennent au secours des uns & des autres, pour faire durer le combat selon leur coûtume'.⁸⁴ In highlighting the fact that writings of the Church Fathers could be employed by either party for their own

⁸¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, July 1685, art. iii, p.810.

⁸² La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 23 July 1685, p.267.

⁸³ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, July 1685, art. iii, pp.810-11.

⁸⁴ Bayle, p.811.

ends, he could again have been attempting to refute the authority which La Roque attributed to Ferrand's arguments that had the support of these authors. Moreover, his comments highlighted the partial way in which participants in the religious controversy were not only writing, but also reading. Rather than attempting to come to an understanding of what was right or true in these writings, each side was reading merely to reinforce its pre-formed opinions. Furthermore, remarking upon the appearance of a reply to a text by Pierre Nicole, he commented that it would force the writers of the controversy 'à chercher un nouveau terrain & à recommencer la dispute de l'Eglise sur nouveaux frais'.⁸⁵ He ended his review with a direct address to the reader, posing the question 'Fletez-vous après cela de l'esperance de voir finir une Controverse'.⁸⁶ This direct address seems likely to be intended as a rebuttal of La Roque's suggestion that Ferrand's text could have brought an end to the controversy if it were not for the obstinate nature of heretics. Thus, Bayle's comments upon the *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques* highlighted his pessimism at the prospect of the religious controversy ever being resolved because of the inherent bias of those involved in dealing with source material.

While it cannot be conclusively determined whether or not the Abbé de la Roque thought that Bayle was in fact directly attacking his review or merely Ferrand's books, or indeed both, he was certainly piqued enough to reply to Bayle's review in the issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* of 27 August 1685 with a review of the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»*.⁸⁷ However, before discussing La Roque's review of the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»*, it is important to recall a number of elements in Bayle's review of the same text that determined how the discussion about and with Ferrand would progress, culminating in Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. The first element is that the value and accuracy of Ferrand's writings are brought into question. Secondly, the question of the use of a moderate tone and style when conversions were being extorted with violent methods recurs. Thirdly, Bayle's criticism of texts which defended Claude's writings meant that the latter's writings also became an issue in this nascent quarrel. Finally, Bayle highlighted the fact that biased reading and writing, as practised in times of religious controversy, served only to perpetuate the

⁸⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, July 1685, art. iii, p.811.

⁸⁶ Bayle, p.811.

⁸⁷ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 27 Aug. 1685, pp.315-22.

dispute, rather than to bring about a resolution. As will become evident, this points to another possible avenue for understanding the epistolary format of Bayle's pamphlet.

La Roque's reply to Bayle was positioned prominently in his journal: not only was this review the first article in that issue, La Roque's dissatisfaction with Bayle's review is announced in the first paragraph:

Il a déjà esté parlé de cet ouvrage dans les Nou. De la Rep. Des Lettres. L'auteur ayant sans doute senti le poids des raisons dont Monsr. Ferrand se sert pour répondre à l'Apologie de la Reformation, & ayant connu peut-estre la verité de tout ce que l'on avance ici en faveur de la bonne cause, il [Bayle] s'est contenté de s'estendre fort au long sur les loüanges de Monsieur Ferrand sans rien toucher de particulier de son ouvrage. Nous ferons tout le contraire, & sans toucher au merite de cet Auteur, à qui nous avons rendu justice plus d'une fois, nous entrerons dans le détail des matieres.⁸⁸

La Roque was consistently more overt than Bayle in his criticisms of the reviews in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* or in addressing a point of dispute between them. Bayle, in general, employed more implicit strategies. In this instance, Bayle was criticized by La Roque for skirting around the substantive arguments made by Ferrand, suggesting that the reason for this was that Bayle, being unable to refute Ferrand's solid arguments, did not want to further their diffusion. The *Journal des Sçavans* maintained that it would not spend time praising Ferrand's reputation, but, unlike Bayle, would only examine the arguments he presented. This criticism is not entirely undeserved. Bayle's review of both of Ferrand's latest publications amounted to three and a quarter pages and did not give a detailed account of the content of either book. In the *Journal des Sçavans* Ferrand's texts received separate reviews, amounting to six and a third pages and seven and a quarter pages respectively. In these reviews, the content of the texts is recounted in some detail. Whether it was just or not, this accusation and the following remarks from La Roque's review, as will be shown, became a bone of contention in this quarrel.

Firstly, La Roque asserted that the actions taken against Calvinists of France were irrefutably justified by Ferrand, who cited Saint Augustine's Letters 48 and 50, as well as other texts to show that 'les Puissances seculieres devoient chastier les heretiques par des peines moderées'.⁸⁹ Thus, the legitimacy of secular authority and

⁸⁸ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 27 Aug. 1685, p.315.

⁸⁹ La Roque, p.316. In modern editions of Augustine's letters, letters 48 and 50 are usually numbered 93 and 185 respectively.

force being employed in the conversion process was supposedly justified. Many Catholic authors at the time appealed to Augustine's writings in order to justify their treatment of Huguenots in the period surrounding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Indeed, a text by Philippe-Goibaud Dubois, the *Conformité de la conduite de l'Eglise de France pour ramener les Protestans avec celle de l'Eglise de l'Afrique pour ramener les Donatistes à la foi Catholique*, reproduced Augustine's two letters on the issue of forced conversion for precisely that purpose.⁹⁰ As Augustine's letters form some of the substantive content for the dispute about forced conversions, it is necessary to give a brief account of them, before proceeding with the analysis of La Roque's comments.

Saint Augustine, who had rejected the legitimacy and effectiveness of forced conversions, came to justify the use of force in his time as Bishop of Hippo, when dealing with the Donatist schism. Peter Brown, in his article 'St. Augustine's Attitude to Religious Conversion', argues convincingly that Augustine's change in opinion was not born of mere expediency, but rather that there was a theological underpinning to it which had been developing in his thought for a number of years and came to an expedited fruition because of the schism.⁹¹ Augustine's writings on the topic showed not only the legitimacy but also the necessity of the use of force in the conversion process.⁹² For Augustine, force was a means of breaking people's unconsidered attachment to their customary behaviour and opinions. Once that attachment was broken, then these people would more freely consider the religious instruction provided.⁹³ Of particular importance for our understanding of Bayle's response to and criticism of the Catholic position was the moral relativity or subjectivity which is evident in Saint Augustine's letters on the topic of forced conversions. Augustine argued that when members of the true religion persecute heretics it is an act of charity and just behaviour, but that when supposed heretics persecute members of the true religion their behaviour is unjust.⁹⁴ He argued: 'il ne

⁹⁰ [Philippe-Goibaud] Dubois, *Conformité de la conduite de l'Eglise de France pour ramener les Protestans avec celle de l'Eglise de l'Afrique pour ramener les Donatistes à la foi Catholique* (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1685).

⁹¹ Peter Brown, 'St Augustine's Attitude to Religious Coercion', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 54 (1964), 107-16.

⁹² See Brown, 'St Augustine's Attitude to Religious Coercion', pp.107-16; Keith Luria, 'Conversion and Coercion: Personal Conscience and Political Coercion in Early Modern France', *The Journal of Medieval History*, 12, 221 (2009), 221-47, p. 229.

⁹³ Luria, p. 230.

⁹⁴ Augustine, 'Letter 48' as in Dubois, *Conformité de la conduite de l'Eglise*, pp.24-5.

faut pas regarder si l'on force, mais à quoy l'on force'.⁹⁵ Thus, his arguments suggest that the same actions acquire a different moral status depending on the whether or not one acted in the name of the one true religion. As will become evident in this thesis, Bayle saw this subjective measure of morality and the discourse employed by Catholics to sustain it as particularly problematic. This brings us back to La Roque's defence of Ferrand's writings on the matter.

La Roque did not note the disjunction between the justification of the use of force in the conversion process and Ferrand's comment in the preface of the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»* which insisted upon 'la douceur qu'on doit avoir quand on écrit' against those who are separated from Catholicism.⁹⁶ Nor did La Roque remark upon the incongruity which Bayle saw between this position and Ferrand's refusal to criticise those involved in the forced conversions. Nonetheless, La Roque's insistence that 'il [Ferrand] justifie parfaitement la conduite que le Roy & le Clergé de France tiennent à l'égard des Calvinistes', was undoubtedly intended to counteract Bayle's comments about this argument in Ferrand's text. The substantive issues of this dispute directly overlap at this point with those in the second dispute between Bayle and La Roque.

Secondly, while Claude escaped unscathed in this review, Jurieu was not so fortunate. Jurieu, was accused not only of poor reasoning, but also of demonstrating a lack of good faith in his writings: 'Mais on ne montre pas seulement à ce Protestant [Jurieu] que ses raisons ne sont d'aucune force pour luy: On l'accuse encore de plusieurs impostures, & de manque de bonne foy'.⁹⁷ The Abbé de la Roque employed the accusation of a 'manque de bonne foy' against other Protestant authors too.⁹⁸ No doubt, the criticism seemed appropriate to him both in intellectual and religious terms.

Thus, four main points of contention were created by this article. There are two accusations against Protestant authors: the accusation that Bayle would not enter into a substantive debate (an intellectual concern) and the accusation of bad faith levelled against Jurieu (a moral concern). Then, there is the claim that the

⁹⁵ Augustine, 'Letter 48' as in Dubois, p.49.

⁹⁶ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 27 Aug. 1685, pp.315-16.

⁹⁷ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 27 Aug. 1685, pp.319-20.

⁹⁸ La Roque, 23 July 1685, p.272.

behaviour of the Catholics towards the Calvinists in France is entirely justified — a moral, political, theological and intellectual question. Finally, the writings of another of Bayle's friends (Jurieu) were overtly criticized.

In the following months, Bayle remained largely silent in respect of this particular dispute in his journal. His references to Ferrand in the following months were mere passing comments. In the September 1685 issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* he made reference to the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»* in a review of a text about the excellence of marriage. He noted that despite the fact that this text and Ferrand's text were entirely contradictory each was 'bien armé d'approbation & de Privilège'.⁹⁹ Ferrand was also mentioned, again rather inconsequentially, in the November 1685 issue in reference to a dispute between Catholics and Protestants about which confession had contributed most to the linguistic tools necessary for Biblical criticism.¹⁰⁰ Bayle did not use these references as opportunities to launch an attack upon Ferrand. In the months following La Roque's review of the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»*, Bayle did nonetheless touch upon some of the substantive issues relating to the dispute, but which were also pervasive in the wider religious controversy at the time. He discussed the contradictory accounts of contemporary events in France in a review of Jurieu's *Réflexions sur la cruelle persecutions que souffre l'Eglise Réformée de France* in the November issue of his journal.¹⁰¹ Moreover, as I will detail in the next chapter, Bayle discussed Augustine's justification of the use of force in his review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irenée* in the December issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. This was one of the points at which the two disputes overlapped.

It was not until January 1686 that Bayle returned to the dispute with the *Journal des Sçavans* over Ferrand in an article which reviewed Claude's *Sermon sur le Verset 14. du Chapitre 7. de l'Ecclesiaste*.¹⁰² Bayle had little to say about Claude's actual sermon, merely using a short comment upon the text to highlight the situation of the Huguenot refugees in the Netherlands and to emphasise the fact that

⁹⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Sept. 1685, art. iii, p.950.

¹⁰⁰ Bayle, Nov. 1685, art. viii, p.1261.

¹⁰¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Nov. 1685, art. iv, pp.1215-23.

¹⁰² Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Jan. 1686, cat. ii, pp.92-93.

among foreigners the Huguenots were treated with charity.¹⁰³ His decision to 'review' Claude's sermon then really had little to do with its content. Rather, Bayle's revival of the dispute seems to have been prompted by a discussion with Claude who was at The Hague, where, following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he took refuge at the home of his son Isaac. Bayle wrote that he had recently heard Claude say : 'qu'il pourra faire sentir un jour à M. Ferrand qu'il n'entend point son Saint Augustin sur la matière de l'Eglise'. Thus, in his review, Bayle was announcing Claude's intention to refute Ferrand's *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques*. Moreover, he remarked that now that Claude was removed from the continual strife in Paris, would have time to write again. So confident was Claude in his ability to counter Ferrand irrefutably that he sent a message to the Abbé de la Roque, stating as much and offering to let him witness this refutation first hand. Claude addressed himself to la Roque 'plûtôt qu'à un autre, à cause du Journal où il est parlé du livre de M. Ferrand'.¹⁰⁴ This is in reference to the review of *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques, principalement contre les Calvinistes*, in the issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* dated 23 July 1685, where Claude's writings in particular were singled out for criticism. Thus, this entry in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* served rather as a forum in which Bayle could level accusations against La Roque. This firmly establishes the interrelated nature of these reviews in the respective journals. However, although the dispute between Claude and Ferrand is one of the threads which knits these reviews together because of the fact that La Roque and Bayle were presenting the dispute to the community of the Republic of Letters and had clearly taken sides, if the origins of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* are considered, the issue of the nature of the true Church is not particularly relevant to the genesis of the pamphlet. This is further emphasised by the fact that when Bayle reviewed the *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques*, he focused upon Ferrand's attitude towards and representation of the conversions in France, rather than upon the actual subject-matter of the book.

Nonetheless, a number of the disputed points that have already been noted recur in this review. Bayle noted that 'L'ami de M. Claude revint de sa Commission

¹⁰³ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Jan. 1686, cat. ii, pp.92-93.

¹⁰⁴ Bayle, p.93.

chargé de civilité & d'assurances de services, mais on n'entra pas en matière'.¹⁰⁵ Bayle's precise echo of the phrase 'n'entra pas en matière' suggest that he was taking the opportunity to turn back on the Abbé de la Roque the intellectual criticisms that were levelled against Bayle in the issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* from August 1685, as we noted above. Thus, at this point, Bayle was overtly throwing down the intellectual gauntlet to Ferrand and the Abbé de la Roque. To compound this, he also revisited the question of style in this article. Describing the reply as 'chargé de civilité' evokes once more the idea that Bayle perceived the Catholics to be overly concerned with the use of words that might be 'trop rudes'. Civility here is almost presented as a weapon: it is used as a veil or shield in order to avoid substantive discussion. He added to this criticism of the civil words of the Catholics by contrasting it with more passionate language, when commenting later in the same article on another sermon which had been delivered in Montpellier. Bayle informed his readers that the sermon was preached 'à l'occasion de l'Arrest qui permettoit aux enfans de changer de Religion à l'âge de 7. Ans'.¹⁰⁶ He defended the passionate tone and expressions employed by the preacher, suggesting that his rhetoric reflected and was appropriate to the circumstances in which the sermon was preached. He wrote: 'On ne doit pas douter que l'Auteur qui a naturellement beaucoup de feu n'ait poussé dans des circonstances comme celles-là de beaux mouvemens d'une éloquence zélée'.¹⁰⁷ Thus, in this article, we see Bayle addressing some of the criticisms which had been made by the author of the *Journal des Sçavans*. He employed a two-fold strategy. First, he turned the criticism levelled against him back on his opponents, asserting that it was really the Catholics who would not enter a substantive debate. Second, Bayle suggested that the seeming civility of Catholic authors was nothing but empty platitudes, which he highlighted by a defence of passionate and erudite texts, rather than moderate texts which avoid the issues. With these criticisms having been launched so explicitly at the Abbé de la Roque and Ferrand, a response was inevitable.

The Abbé de La Roque did not recoil from Bayle's challenge. He responded to it in the 18 February issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* in the form of a review of

¹⁰⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p.93.

¹⁰⁶ Bayle, p.93.

¹⁰⁷ Bayle, p.93.

Gautereau's *La France toute Catholique*.¹⁰⁸ It is in the review of Gautereau's text that the two disputes between Bayle and La Roque feature side by side for the first time. Thus, I shall return to La Roque's review of Gautereau's text following my discussion of the second dispute, the substance of which I will present in the next chapter.

In this chapter I have demonstrated the need to extend the scope of the context within which Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is currently understood in order to include two disputes that he was having with the Abbé de La Roque. This extension in scope of context goes some way to accounting for Bayle's appropriation of the title of Gautereau's text. Furthermore, the discussion of the dispute analysed in this chapter (which I will refer to hereafter as the Ferrand dispute), established some of the main themes and issues relevant both to understanding the genesis of Bayle's pamphlet and also the substantive claims and rhetorical structure that feature in it. These are: the concern that there could be no resolution to the religious controversy, accusations of bad faith by both parties against members of the other confessions; and finally, the incongruity between the Catholics' moderate language and the violent persecution which created the problem that 'la modération du stile est un signe fort équivoque'.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, Feb. 1686, art. iv, pp.37-41.

¹⁰⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, July 1685, art. iii, p.810.

Chapter Two

The *Commentarii* of Theodoric and the Question of Forced Conversion

In this chapter I will explore the second dispute to which La Roque referred in his review of Gautereau's *La France toute Catholique* in the *Journal des Sçavans*. While some of the substantive issues raised in this dispute overlap with those in the Ferrand dispute, a number of other significant themes and concerns are raised. These include debating both the legitimacy and efficacy of forced conversion, questioning the nature of religious zeal, and finally reflecting upon the appropriate response to the bad faith of Catholic authors in their accounts of the conversions. Tracing this debate between these two *journalistes* provides the opportunity to examine both how Bayle conceptualised and understood some key issues in the religious controversy and also how he intended to respond to the writings of Catholic authors in the months prior to the publication of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

The origin of the first of these disputes was in Bayle's review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti de Regibus vetustis Norvagiciis, alter de Danorum in terram Sanctam circa 1185* which appeared in the issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* from February 1685.¹ The beginning of Bayle's review was taken up primarily with recounting the genesis of the commentary of the two texts. Johann Kirchmann, author of *De Funeribus Romanorum*, uncovered the documents at the library at Lübeck and was asked by Stephanus Stephanus, who was interested in Danish history, to publish them.² The death of Kirchmann delayed this project until his grandson undertook the task.³ The review then focused upon the history of the ancient kings of Norway, commenting upon the style, use of sources and the attitude of the author, a twelfth century monk named Theodoric, to genealogy.⁴ When Bayle's review shifted from stylistic and methodological issues to relaying the substantive content of Theodoric's history, it focused on one particular aspect of the history of Norway; that is, Prince Olaus's

¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Feb., 1685, art. ii, pp.136-44.

² Bayle, pp.136-7.

³ Bayle, pp.136-7.

⁴ Bayle, p.138.

efforts to convert the peoples of the Orkneys, of Norway and finally of Iceland to Christianity.

Bayle informed his reader that Olaus had converted to Christianity while in exile and when he returned, 'il travailla fortement à la conversion de la Norwege'.⁵ Olaus's conversion of Sigward, the governor of the Orkneys, which was a Norwegian protectorate, was described as 'une action de zele fort vigoureuse'.⁶ Bayle told the reader that Olaus 'contraignit de vive force le Comte Sigward' so that he would convert, having first employed 'des voyes de la douceur, mais les voyant inutiles', he then resorted to force.⁷ Olaus threatened to kill the count's son before his eyes and to be his 'ennemi irréconciliable' for life.⁸ Bayle described Sigward's conversion as the fulfillment of Psalm 83, citing the phrase 'imple facies eorum ignominia; quaerent nomen tuum Domine'.⁹ Psalm 83 was an exhortation to God to pursue ruthlessly and crush those princes who both acted against and refused to acknowledge Him. Bayle's citation of it highlighted the fact that those princes had to be reduced to a total state of ignominy before they acquiesced to seek the name of God. Bayle suggested that Sigward's decision to convert was motivated by fear, when he wrote: 'craignant tout à la fois la mort de son fils, & la colere d'Olaus, [Sigward] crût à l'Evangile'.¹⁰ He then cited Theodoric's description of Sigward's conversion, who wrote that the count submitted to the orders of his Prince.¹¹ This suggested that Sigward's decision to convert was not motivated by any actual change in religious sentiment.

Olaus's methods of conversion in Norway followed a similar pattern: when 'des voyes de la douceur' did not work, he began to employ 'les coups & les supplices', ultimately burning those who most resisted conversion.¹² Bayle noted Theodoric's comparison of Olaus's behaviour to that of Jesus Christ by means of reference to two scriptural passages. The first was the story of the Good Samaritan in the Gospel of Luke.¹³ Olaus's behaviour was likened to the scene where the Good

⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Feb., 1685, art. ii, p.141.

⁶ Bayle, p.141.

⁷ Bayle, p.141.

⁸ Bayle, p.141.

⁹ 'Cover their faces with shame, Lord, so that they will seek your name'. Bayle, p.141.

¹⁰ Bayle, p.141.

¹¹ Bayle, pp.141-2.

¹² Bayle, p.142.

¹³ Luke 10:25-37.

Samaritan poured oil and wine on the wounds of the stranger on the road. This action was understood to exemplify charity, one of the three cardinal virtues. The structure of Bayle's review set Olaus's violent actions in contrast with the healing, gentle actions of the Good Samaritan. This raised the question whether Olaus's actions constituted acts of *caritas* in line with its scriptural depiction. The second scriptural reference was to the parable of the Wedding Feast, again from the Gospel of Luke.¹⁴ Olaus was described by Theodoric as acting according to the following injunction in the Gospel of Luke: 'contrains-les d'entrer, afin que ma maison soit pleine'. This passage was commonly cited to justify compelling heretics to convert and it is this passage that Bayle later singled out in the title of the *Commentaire Philosophique*. He drew no definitive conclusion nor did he comment upon the use of these scriptural passages to justify Olaus's methods. Rather, Bayle built his argument against forced conversions implicitly into the structure of his review. He constructed implicit comparisons by setting two supposed examples of charity side by side in his review: initially he recounts Olaus's methods of conversion and then juxtaposes this with the charity of the Good Samaritan. It was then left to the readers to draw their own conclusions as regards the extent to which Olaus's actions met the criteria of *caritas*, as described in the Gospel. Ultimately, Bayle did explicitly express his concern about Olaus's methods when he discussed the king's conversion of Iceland.

Bayle made his concern about the immorality of the conversions in the Orkneys and Norway more explicit when he commented that the conversions in Iceland were carried out 'beaucoup plus Chrétienement'. He based this assertion upon the fact that 'on n'y employa que les armes de la Prédication, & de la persuasion'.¹⁵ This stands in sharp contrast to the physical violence employed by Olaus in his own country. Therefore, Bayle's characterisation of the conversion process in the Orkneys and Norway implies, by means of the comparison with Iceland, that these conversions were not carried out in adherence with Christian morality. Nonetheless, in Bayle's opinion, the methods of persuasion employed in Iceland were not unproblematic. Olaus, when negotiating the marriages of his sisters, insisted that their prospective spouses should convert to Christianity. Bayle

¹⁴ Luke 14:16-24.

¹⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Feb., 1685, art. ii, p.142.

voiced his misgivings about the sincerity of these conversions saying : 'C'est une grand question, si un Baptême récompensé par des Nôces si glorieuses effaçoit bien le Paganisme du fond de l'ame'.¹⁶ This issue was one which had impacted upon relatively recent French history when Henri IV converted from Protestantism to Catholicism in order to consolidate his claim to his crown.¹⁷ Bayle did not enter into any detail about this issue, raising it therefore as a question for his readers to ponder themselves.

Finally, Bayle summed up his opinions about Olaus's methods of conversions with two comments. Bayle first said of the methods employed for the conversion in these three countries: 'Il faut avoüer qu'on a commis bien des irrégularitez dans la conversion des Peuples'.¹⁸ Despite the fact that Bayle's language here eschews polemic and seems quite restrained, it is for this comment in particular, that he would later be criticised. He also commented that obtaining conversions was 'un métier où tout le monde n'est pas propre'.¹⁹ The implication of this statement, that a king or prince should not undertake the role of missionary, would certainly not have been uncontroversial in a world in which kingship was acquired by divine right and the king was acknowledged to be one of the foremost servants of God on earth. Indeed, as I noted in the previous chapter, Gautereau dedicated the first *entretien* in his text to defending the position that regulating the religion of his people was the king's right and duty.²⁰ Nonetheless, as I will discuss in more detail at a later stage, the involvement of the state in the conversion process caused concern in the period particularly as regards the use of force.²¹

Bayle's disapproval of the methods employed by Olaus to convert these nations to Christianity is evident throughout his review. His argument builds from implicit suggestions to an open expression of concern by raising certain questions which will be seen to recur in this nascent dispute. These questions were derived from the primary issue of the legitimate, Christian means of converting that is raised

¹⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Feb., 1685, art. ii, p.142.

¹⁷ On the issues relating to the conversion of Henri IV see Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Ronald Love, *Blood and Religion: The Conscience of Henri IV* (Canada: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001).

¹⁸ Bayle, pp.142-3.

¹⁹ Bayle, p.143.

²⁰ See ch.1, p.39.

²¹ See below, pp.80-1.

in Bayle's review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti*. The topics include the following: the efficacy of the use of force or recompense to obtain true conversions; the question of whose role it is to obtain conversions; and finally, the nature of religious zeal and how it manifests itself. Although Bayle discussed the question of the legitimate means of obtaining conversions solely in terms of the historical event, the pertinence of it to contemporary events in France was sufficient to elicit a response.

Criticism of Bayle's comments came in the form of a review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti* by La Roque in the issue of the *Journal des Sçavans* dated 16 April 1685.²² La Roque gave prominence to his review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti*, placing it at the front of that April issue. His review focused upon the substantive content of Theodoric's history of the Norwegian kings. He provided some general background about the Norwegian kings who ruled before Olaus, but arrived quickly at the topic of the conversion of Norway.

La Roque's account of Olaus's efforts at conversion did not differ in substance greatly from Bayle's. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that La Roque, unlike Bayle, informed his readers, that, having resolved to convert his own country upon his return, Olaus had brought a bishop, two priests and some deacons with him.²³ It is possible that La Roque provided this information in order to demonstrate Olaus's intention to have the Gospel preached by clergymen and to achieve conversions by means which reflected his support for the Catholic model of episcopal authority. Like Bayle, La Roque noted that the conversions in Iceland were obtained 'avec les seules armes de la Predication'.²⁴ He also acknowledged, without attempting to prevaricate, that violent methods had been employed in Norway to bring about the country's conversion. It is at this point that La Roque's discussion of events begins to differ from Bayle's. La Roque defended Olaus's actions, describing him and another prince of the same name as being 'tous deux fort

²² La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 16 April 1685, pp.149-53. In the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, which I will discuss in detail at a later stage in this chapter, the reader is told that the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti* was not a text of such significance that it merited being reviewed in the two journals. Consequently, it was suggested in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* that La Roque's review was prompted by his desire to respond to Bayle's review.

²³ La Roque, p.151.

²⁴ La Roque, p.151.

zelez [...] pour planter la foy dans la Norvege' and suggesting that in carrying out these conversions he was fulfilling his duty as king.²⁵ La Roque stated that when preaching did not work Olaus 'fut obligé d'avoir recours' to violent methods.²⁶ This comment suggested that violence should be resorted to when other methods of converting had been exhausted. However, it becomes evident that La Roque thought that Olaus's use of force was legitimate and not reprehensible, especially when he takes issues with Bayle's description of the king's methods as 'des irrégularitez'.²⁷ Although La Roque declared that he did not want to enter an extensive discussion of the topic, prefacing his comments with the phrase 'Sans entrer dans cette question', he did reiterate some of the most common, contemporary defences for the use of force to obtain conversions.²⁸

La Roque gave missionaries a *carte blanche* in terms of the methods they employed, insisting that: 'il est certain que le Ciel se sert de tout pour le salut des hommes'.²⁹ He justified this claim with two scriptural references, the Parable of the Wedding Feast and the Good Samaritan putting wine and oil on the stranger's wounds (those which Bayle noted that Theodoric had cited).³⁰ La Roque's argument goes further, asserting that experience had shown the efficacy of force and that secular constraints were greater than that of the Word of God preached by clergymen when it came to obtaining conversions: 'l'expérience fait voir que la rigueur des Loix des Princes fait souvent plus pour l'établissement de la Religion, que les Predications les plus éloquantes'.³¹ This had, to a significant extent, had been the case where the Reformation found roots in German towns and cities at the behest and with the support of territorial princes and government.³² La Roque, responding to Bayle's assertion that not everybody was suited to the role of missionary, attributed secular authorities with a key role in the establishment and maintenance of a religion in their country. He maintained that the example of Olaus's efforts proved this. La Roque reinforced his argument with other, earlier examples of forced

²⁵ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 16 April 1685, p.150.

²⁶ La Roque, p.151.

²⁷ La Roque, p.151.

²⁸ La Roque, p.152.

²⁹ La Roque, p.152. La Roque's statement here simplifies a complex theological question about God's justice.

³⁰ See above, pp.68-9.

³¹ La Roque, p.152.

³² Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) II, pp.81-9.

conversions. He pointed out that long before Olaus, emperors had employed such methods, citing the well-worn example of the Donatists in the writings of Saint Augustine.³³ La Roque conceded that Saint Augustine had initially been dubious about the use of force to obtain conversions, but cited the Bishop of Hippo's change of mind, which was precipitated by the arguments of the bishops of Africa, in support of his position.³⁴ Specifically, he referred Bayle and his readers to Saint Augustine's Letter 48.³⁵ La Roque did not provide any detail of the content of the defence in Saint Augustine's Letter 48 (the letter was undoubtedly sufficiently well known, being commonly cited in defence of this position). This brought an end to the texts which La Roque cited against Bayle's description of Olaus's methods as 'des irrégularitez'.

La Roque's review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti* responded therefore to several of the issues raised in Bayle's review of the same text. His characterisation of Olaus's zeal was much more positive than the light in which Bayle had painted it, suggesting that Olaus's behaviour was not incompatible with religious zeal. He also, more generally, defended the use of force or any means to obtain conversions, because man's salvation was a primary and fundamental good. This was in line with the contemporary orthodox position in France.³⁶ La Roque also asserted the right of and necessity for secular rulers to participate in the conversion process. Finally, his review also contributed to the dispute by incorporating new elements into it. His deployment of the writings of Saint Augustine and various scriptural passages in defence of his position incorporated these into the substantive debate about the use of force in order to convert. These references will be seen to point towards some rhetorical considerations relevant to the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique*. The contested nature of the authority and interpretation of the writings of Saint Augustine and the parables from the Gospel brings into question the dynamic at work in the religious controversy generally. Significantly, with La Roque's review, Bayle experienced first hand the kind of

³³ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 16 April 1685, p.152.

³⁴ La Roque, p.152.

³⁵ La Roque, p.152.

³⁶ In Bayle's pamphlet the Catholic canon defends the forced conversion on this ground. See Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.33. However, it was not just the salvation of the heretics at stake. The *Avertissement pastoral* delivered by the French clergy in 1682 pointed to the fact that the members of the 'true' religion would be held accountable by God if they did not attempt to convert heretics. See Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation*, pp.190-1.

response to the condemnation of the persecution in France which he later presented in the letter of the Catholic Canon in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. This suggests that the epistolary format of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* needs to be considered in terms of a rhetorical comment upon the dynamic of the religious controversy. It is possible, as I will suggest in the fifth chapter of this thesis, that Bayle's interaction with La Roque in the course of these disputes may be a context within which the epistolary format of his pamphlet can be understood.³⁷

Bayle did not immediately respond to La Roque's criticism. Nonetheless, the topic of forced conversions, reflecting contemporary concern with this issue in the religious controversy, did necessarily crop up in their respective journals in the months that followed. Indeed it is on the issue of forced conversions that this dispute overlaps with the other dispute mentioned by La Roque in his review of Gautereau's text. The overlap occurred most explicitly in the August 1685 issue of the *Journal des Sçavans*. I detailed the content of the overlap in my discussion of the Ferrand dispute.³⁸ Thus, it is sufficient to note here that, when the topic of forced conversions did arise, Bayle did not take the opportunity to respond to La Roque's review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti*. While there are many possible reasons to explain Bayle's silence in these months, the specific reason which finally prompted Bayle to respond is more obvious.

In the latter half of 1685, the dispute between La Roque and Bayle was resurrected by François Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard in his *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée sur le dessein de la reunion des religions*.³⁹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, who had served as a pastor at Montpellier, was a prominent figure in the Huguenot refuge and travelled to Switzerland, Holland, Germany and finally to England, consorting with eminent members, both religious and political, of their societies.⁴⁰ Of more significant interest is the fact that Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard was a friend

³⁷ See ch.5, pp.152-67.

³⁸ See ch.1, pp.60-2.

³⁹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, François, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée sur le dessein de la reunion des religions: et sur la question si l'on doit employer les peines et les recompenses, pour convertir les Hérétiques* (Mayence: Jean le Blanc, 1685).

⁴⁰ For the biographical detail here I am drawing upon information provided in Israels Perry, *From Theology to History*, Appendix One, 'Vitae of the Controversialists', p.213 and also on the notes in Bayle, *Correspondance*, v, pp.115, n.10, p.422, n.8.

and correspondant of Bayle. Bayle seems to have had quite a good opinion of him, at one time expressing his pleasure at the prospect of meeting with the pastor⁴¹ and at another, noting that Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard was 'fort estimé par tout où il a paru'.⁴² Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard was in the Netherlands and was in contact with Bayle in these early months of 1685, when the dispute between the two *journalistes* over Olaus's methods of conversion occurred. The friendship between these men was probably a factor in Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's decision to predicate his discussion of the topical and pressing issue of the legitimate means by which conversions could be achieved upon the dispute between Bayle and La Roque in their respective journals. Timing was undoubtedly also a factor. While Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text was not available in booksellers until November 1685,⁴³ it is likely that he had begun writing it much earlier that year. Bayle commented in a letter in July 1685 that Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard was at The Hague where 'il a fait quelque livre'.⁴⁴ The editors of the *Correspondance* plausibly suggest that the book in question here is the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*.⁴⁵ Thus, the dispute between Bayle and La Roque would have been brought to Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's attention while he was writing his own book.

The *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* is a two-volume work in which the possibility of a reunification of the Catholic and Protestant religions in France was discussed. The two interlocutors are Photin and Irénée. The dialogue between Photin and Irénée is not a true one: each interlocutor elicited explanations from the other which functioned to defend the Huguenot position and subvert that of the Catholics.⁴⁶ Indeed, in the *Avertissement*, the Huguenot bias of the text is openly acknowledged, when the putative roles of the interlocutors are described.⁴⁷ Irénée was to support the opinion that 'il n'y auroit point de mal à tenter de la Réunion, & que si l'on faisoit des conférences pour cela, nous pourrions en tirer quelques avantages'.⁴⁸ It was Photin's role, then, in the dialogue to disabuse Irénée of his

⁴¹ Bayle, *Correspondance*, v [Letter from Bayle to Jacques Lenfant, 5 Oct., 1684], p.115.

⁴² Bayle, *Correspondance* [Letter from Bayle to Jacques Lenfant, 18 Jan., 1685], p.220.

⁴³ Bayle, *Correspondance* [Letter from Bayle to Jacques Lenfant, 6 Jul., 1685], p.422, n.8.

⁴⁴ Bayle, *Correspondance*, p.420.

⁴⁵ Bayle, *Correspondance*, p.422, n.8.

⁴⁶ On dialogues see Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.3-10.

⁴⁷ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée, Avertissement*, unpaginated.

⁴⁸ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Avertissement*, unpaginated.

opinion. Although, with the increasing persecution from 1680 onwards, a small number of moderate Huguenots began to warm to the idea of some form of ecumenical reunification, Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's rejection of reunification was in line with the predominant Protestant opinion both in France and in the Refuge.⁴⁹ Photin, then, represented the opinion of the majority of Huguenots. His role was to demonstrate that the idea of reunification was merely another ploy by which Catholics hoped to eradicate Protestantism: 'ce ne pourroit être que des pièges qu'on nous tendoit, pour achever l'ouvrage de nôtre ruine'.⁵⁰ The subject-matter of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* expands into the question of the legitimate means of conversion as this was one of the ways in which, it was suggested, that reunification could be achieved.⁵¹ The speaker in the *Avertissement* explained the necessity for writing, claiming that Protestants were fearful that the writings of the Catholics which defended the persecutions would inspire contemporary rulers to 'la même furor' by which their ancestors were animated in previous centuries.⁵² The speaker of the *Avertissement* thus claimed that it was necessary for Protestant authors to show how distant the Catholics' intentions were from the spirit of Christianity.⁵³

The issue of forced conversions is discussed in the fifth and sixth dialogues of the second volume of Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text, which were concerned with the question 'si l'on doit employer les peines, & les recompenses, pour convertir les Hérétiques'.⁵⁴ It is in these two dialogues that the dispute between Bayle and La Roque was discussed. The dispute between them was presented as the reason why Photin and Irénée were prompted to discuss the issue of forced conversions. Irénée provided a description of the essentials of the dispute between the two *journalistes*, noting that the origin of the dispute was their respective reviews of Theodoric's *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti* and both of their accounts of Olaus's conversion methods.⁵⁵ As Bayle and La Roque's treatment of the issues relating to forced conversions was considered insufficient, Photin and Irénée

⁴⁹ Solé, *Les Origines Intellectuelles de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, pp.33-4. Solé provides a detailed account of the attitudes to the idea of reunification in this book, see especially, pp.33-41.

⁵⁰ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Avertissement*, unpaginated.

⁵¹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.180-1.

⁵² Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Avertissement*, unpaginated.

⁵³ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Avertissement*, unpaginated.

⁵⁴ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.179.

⁵⁵ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.186-7.

undertook a thorough discussion of the issue. The remainder of the fifth dialogue was dedicated to substantiating Bayle's putative position, while the sixth dialogue refuted La Roque's position, specifically his use of 'le Parabole du Festin' and 'le Parabole du Samaritain', in defense of forced conversions.⁵⁶

The discussion of Bayle and La Roque's dispute in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* contributed to the dispute between these *journalistes* in a number of ways. Firstly, the comments in Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text upon Bayle and La Roque's respective reviews of Theodoric's *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti* renewed the dormant dispute, prompting responses from both Bayle and La Roque. Secondly, the discussion in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* both raised questions about the nature and the dynamic of the religious controversy, and also evoked some substantive issues which were incorporated into the dispute. I will now elaborate upon the contribution of each of these aspects of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* to the development of the dispute between Bayle and La Roque and ultimately to the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

First, I will discuss some of the comments made about both Bayle and La Roque's assessment of Olaus's methods of conversion. As is evident from their opening comments in the fifth dialogue, Photin and Irénée did not support the use of force for the purpose of converting people.⁵⁷ It is in this dialogue that La Roque's defense of the practice was criticised. Photin attempted to undermine La Roque's position. He argued that La Roque's defence of Olaus suggested his sensitivity to the fact of wrong-doing in the conversions in France at the time, causing him to over-react to Bayle's review, which had not commented explicitly on the contemporary situation in France.⁵⁸ Photin's attack was not particularly well founded, given the prevalence of the use of historical cases to tease out the pertinent issue of the debate over forced conversions. Photin also criticised La Roque's discussion of Bayle's review, describing his comments as 'injuste' and as an act of *chicanerie*.⁵⁹ In *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* one of the main criticisms launched by the Huguenots against the Catholics was their use of *chicanerie*. The term, which does

⁵⁶ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, pp.263-5.

⁵⁷ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.179-82.

⁵⁸ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.190.

⁵⁹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.189, 192. Irénée argues that Bayle did not expect 'qu'on dût le chicaner'.

not translate easily into modern English, was employed to signify the use of deceit or subterfuge to achieve one's purpose. In particular, it was used to criticise and undermine the reasoning or defence that a person employed in order to justify their position or actions.⁶⁰ Finally, La Roque was accused of being only one among a number of Catholics who were animated by the 'zèle sanguinaire de l'ancienne Ligue'.⁶¹ This comment situated the behaviour of the Catholics in France in a long history of violence associated with that Church. This violent history would have been considered inconsonant with the true Church of Jesus Christ. The implication is that zeal which results in bloodshed is not consonant with Christian morality. This comment again called into question the nature of religious zeal and what people do in its name. Consideration of the nature of zeal was prevalent in the writings of Bayle at the time and, as I will discuss in the last chapter of this thesis, would later feature as an important issue in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

Bayle, on the other hand, was treated more favourably by the interlocutors in Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's *Dialogues*. Photin insisted, *contra* La Roque, that in describing the use of marriage to extort conversions as 'des irregularitez', Bayle could have said 'rien de plus honnête, & de plus modeste'.⁶² In the section where Photin and Irénée substantiate Bayle's position rejecting the use of force in obtaining conversions, Bayle's opinion of forced conversions was set in comparison with the condemnation of a Catholic prelate. Photin commented that Péréfixe, 'l'un des plus grans Prélâts, que la France ait eûs depuis plusieurs siècles', was by no means as moderate as Bayle in his disapproval: 'Il ne pârle pas de ces sortes de *Conversions*, avec tant de modération que M.B. il ne les traite pas d'irrégularitez: il les appelle des actions exécrables'.⁶³ It would be interesting to know if this comparison was intended as a slight rebuke by Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard to his friend for his moderate tone in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. However, the actual purpose of this section in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* was unquestionably to demonstrate the split in Catholic opinion, thereby suggesting that the Catholic Church could not be the true Church.⁶⁴ The reference to Péréfixe's more virulent

⁶⁰ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 2 vols (1690), I [chicane].

⁶¹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, p.194.

⁶² Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.189-90.

⁶³ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.195-6.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the marks of the true church see Walter Rex, *Essays on Pierre Bayle and Religious Controversy* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), pp.8-9.

condemnation of forced conversions functioned both to highlight the disagreement among Catholics on the issue of forced conversions and also to make La Roque's criticism of Bayle's moderate and circumspect comments on the issue seem cavillous.

The second way in which the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* contributed to the dispute between Bayle and La Roque was both by raising questions about the nature and the dynamic of the religious controversy and also by adding to the substantive issues involved. At the start of the fifth dialogue Photin and Irénée discussed the nature of the dispute over the forced conversions between the two confessions. Irénée expressed concern at the fact that the dispute was marred by bias to the extent that the propositions of neither side could be accepted.⁶⁵ Indeed, Irénée asserted that it was this human weakness of being blinded by prejudice which caused the dispute between 'M.B. Auteur des *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, & M. L'A. de L.R. Auteur du *Journal des Savans*'.⁶⁶ According to Irénée, the source Bayle's bias was his affiliation with a persecuted religion, which could offer nothing in the way of 'recompenses'. The source of La Roque's bias was the fact that he was a member of the wealthy Catholic Church, in which one was 'acoutumé à persécuter ceux que l'on tient pour Hérétiques'.⁶⁷ It is noteworthy for the discussion in the final chapter of my thesis that the phrase 'ceux que l'on tient pour Hérétiques' contests the attribution of the word heretic to characterise Huguenots.⁶⁸ The suggested solution was to abandon this personal and partial dispute and to discuss the issues at stake without letting self-interest impinge upon their discussion. Consequently, Photin and Irénée resolved to approach the issue with 'un esprit désintéressé, & vuide de tous préjugés'.⁶⁹ Despite this claim, the exchange between Photin and Irénée continued in a monologic fashion, their whole discussion of the legitimate means of converting supported the Huguenot position. No effort was made to seem impartial other than the use of similar claims to impartiality, which therefore must be understood as rhetorical tropes, designed to bolster further the support of a partial reader. The issue of biased reading and writing as it related to religious controversy was one which Bayle, as will become evident in this chapter,

⁶⁵ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, p.184.

⁶⁶ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.185.

⁶⁷ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.188-9.

⁶⁸ See ch.6, p.174.

⁶⁹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.191.

commented upon frequently in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* and which could be relevant to our understanding of the epistolary format of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.⁷⁰

Another issue that recurred in the contemporary dispute about forced conversions was whether those who submitted because of force or threats were truly converted. Photin asserted that the crux of the dispute between Bayle and La Roque was not whether these means would obtain a large number of conversions, but rather whether the conversions 'servoient au Salut des hommes'.⁷¹ In Christian tradition, a true or sincere conversion required the grace of God, but was also supposed to be a voluntary turn towards the truth, which was not influenced by external factors.⁷² The prototypical conversions were those of Saint Paul and Augustine of Hippo.⁷³ In the seventeenth century, there was disagreement about the efficacy of forced conversions. However, this disagreement was not divided along confessional lines. Moreover, Keith Luria argues that the development of 'state-supported churches' in the early modern period meant that religious affiliation and conversion became a public concern, resulting in conversions often being carried out to meet political ends.⁷⁴ While some theologians abhorred these kinds of conversions, others attempted to justify them.⁷⁵ Photin's query over the efficacy of the forced conversions in this text is similar to the concern raised by Bayle when he questioned whether the conversions of the pagan kings were sincere.⁷⁶ In the fifth dialogue, Photin evoked Bayle's comment to allow him to detail what he saw as the results of forced conversions.⁷⁷ Photin argued that those who converted for some form of recompense were either 'des impies, qui n'ont jamais eû de Religion; ou des lâches, & des perfides qui trahissent leur conscience', choosing their temporal welfare over their spiritual welfare.⁷⁸ Those found in the first category, he claimed, were no loss to the Huguenot side, because they were susceptible to corruption.⁷⁹ The second

⁷⁰ See ch.5 pp.152-67.

⁷¹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, p.285.

⁷² Luria, 'Conversion and Coercion', p. 222.

⁷³ Luria, p.222.

⁷⁴ Luria, p.223.

⁷⁵ For a discussion of justifications of forced conversion with particular reference to early modern France see Luria, pp.226-35.

⁷⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Feb., 1685, art. ii, p.142.

⁷⁷ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, pp.248-53.

⁷⁸ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.250.

⁷⁹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.250.

category was presented, by Photin, as the most problematic. According to Photin, by forcing people to convert, Catholics had created 'des hypocrites, & des athées', who were constrained 'à fouler aux piés, & la Religion, & la conscience, c'est-à-dire à commettre les plus grans de tous les crimes'.⁸⁰ The use of force, threats or temptation to obtain conversions was thus shown to be not the path to salvation, but rather that to damnation. Consequently, Photin scathingly condemned La Roque's comments in his review, maintaining that it was these kinds of conversions which Olaus, 'le Héros, & le Saint de M. l'A. de L.R.', had obtained.⁸¹

Resolution of the dispute between Bayle and La Roque was nonetheless thought possible. According to Photin, if his dialogue with Irénée showed that 'il n'est rien de plus opposé à la nature & à l'esprit de la Religion Chrétienne, que de faire servir les peines, & les recompenses à la Conversion de ceux qui sont dans l'erreur' then an end could be brought to the dispute.⁸² In support of this argument, Photin appealed to the acknowledged difference between the religion of Jesus Christ and that of Moses; that is, the morality of the Old and New Testaments.⁸³ The argument that forced conversions were against the spirit of the Gospel was one which Bayle (like many others) drew upon both in his pamphlet and much more extensively in the later *Commentaire Philosophique*. The moral and religious consequences of the use of force, threats or money to convince people to convert is an issue which reappears in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, forming part of a wider concern expressed about the effect of the degenerate state of the Catholic Church upon the morality of the French people.

Finally, the discussion of La Roque's defense of forced conversions in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* contributed to the substantive scope of the dispute. La Roque, in his review of Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text, referred the reader to only one of the letters written by Saint Augustine which was commonly cited in defence of forced conversions. Photin and Irénée decided that it was necessary to examine Letter 50 in addition to Letter 48.⁸⁴ This was presumably in response, not merely to the general trend of citing this letter, but more specifically to Ferrand's use

⁸⁰ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, pp.250-1.

⁸¹ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.251.

⁸² Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.259.

⁸³ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.259.

⁸⁴ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, p.262.

of it in his *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»*.⁸⁵ From the *Avertissement*, it is evident that Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard had read Ferrand's text.⁸⁶ Although the explicit and thorough refutation of Ferrand's text was left to Jurieu, this certainly did not preclude the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* from refuting any arguments in the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»* relevant to their discussions.⁸⁷ Another text was therefore added to the collection of works being cited in favour of the use of force to obtain conversions within the scope of the dispute. Ultimately, the discussion of the dispute between Bayle and La Roque in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* served as a platform for a more in-depth discussion, not only of Augustine's *Letters*, but also many of the scriptural justifications for forced conversion and the concomitant issues. This suggests that the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* and this dispute between Bayle and La Roque may form part of the specific context for the genesis of the *Commentaire Philosophique* that has as yet not been noted by scholars. The exact nature of the relationship between these sources is worthy of further investigation. Moreover, this in turn could give further substance to Gros's claim that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* ought to be read as a pair text with the *Commentaire Philosophique*.⁸⁸

The *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* contributed to the dispute between Bayle and La Roque, not only by resurrecting it, but also with substantive contributions to the recurring issues of the dispute. Firstly, the text again raised the question of the nature of religious zeal, suggesting that zeal should not manifest itself through bloodshed. Secondly, the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* condemned the use of force or threats to elicit conversions, citing the moral and religious consequences of such conversions in support of this position. Thirdly, by means of the more extensive discussion of the issue of forced conversions, more contested texts became incorporated into the dispute between Bayle and La Roque. Finally, the discussion of the dispute between Bayle and La Roque in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* also raised questions about the dynamic of the exchanges between participants in religious controversy, which not only added to the substantive scope

⁸⁵ As discussed in La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, 27 Aug., 1685, p.316.

⁸⁶ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, *Avertissement*, unpaginated.

⁸⁷ Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, *Avertissement*, unpaginated.

⁸⁸ Gros, 'La Tolérance et le problème théologico-politique', in McKenna and Paganini (eds), *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres*, pp.416-20.

of the text, but which also pointed to possible ways of understanding the epistolary format of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

Bayle commented upon Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text, both publicly in his journal and privately in a letter, before La Roque did. This was because Bayle knew of and could gain access to the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* long before his counterpart at the *Journal des Sçavans*.⁸⁹ While Bayle's comments in his private correspondence did not form part of his public dispute with La Roque, the letter in which he remarks upon Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text is significant, not only for those comments, but also as a contextual marker.

It was in a letter dated 26 November 1685 that Bayle informed one of his correspondents and cousins, Jean Bruguière de Naudis, of the availability of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*.⁹⁰ The primary focus of the letter was not the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, nor was it on matters relating to the Republic of Letters, but rather to personal matters. Bayle had written to inform Naudis about the death of his own brother Jacob and to solicit his cousin's help with sorting out family affairs in France.⁹¹ In the letter, Bayle was clearly upset by the death of his brother. However, even in this immediate context, when he asked for Naudis to give him an account of the situation in his home province of the Pays de Foix following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the previous month, he assured his cousin that he risked nothing by employing 'le ton pur d'un Historien' when replying.⁹² It is possible that Bayle's desire for a more neutral, objective account of the situation may actually have been prompted by the many polemical accounts of events in France by the Huguenots who fled to the Refuge. Polemic had the advantage of blackening the Catholics' reputation across Europe, but it carried the disadvantage of presenting the situation of the Huguenots in France in the worst possible light to those in exile. Thus, ironically, it is possible that Bayle's desire for accuracy and

⁸⁹ La Roque had not yet obtained a copy of the text by February 1685. This illustrates the downside of the laws prohibiting the selling of texts which contained heretical statements or ideas: La Roque had difficulty accessing texts in which he was criticised so that he could defend his position.

⁹⁰ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, [Letter from Bayle to Jean Bruguière de Naudis, 26 Nov., 1685], pp.117-8.

⁹¹ Bayle, pp.117-8.

⁹² Bayle, pp.117-8. On Bayle's discussions of the proper style and method for a historian see Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition*, chp 4. In particular Whelan notes Bayle's opinion that a historian should use the 'style simple' and eschew rhetoric, because the purpose of history was 'to enlighten and not to persuade'. See pp.104-7.

objectivity was not diminished by his personal sufferings or grief, but rather ameliorated because of the contemporary situation. Furthermore, in the light of this preference for 'le ton pur d'un Historien' in the immediate aftermath of his brother's death, the suggestion that the polemic in Bayle's pamphlet served to purge his anger and grief comes under pressure.

At the end of the letter, Bayle shifted from discussing family matters to fulfilling his duty as regards his *commercium litterarium* with Naudis. Bayle clearly delineated the final part of his letter dealing with recent publications from the first part relating primarily to family matters. He wrote: 'Je ferai quelques efforts sur ma douleur pour pouvoir vous entretenir sur la fin de cette lettre un peu moins desagreablement'.⁹³ Bayle commented on the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* in this section of his letter, amidst accounts of the latest publications. He passed over the text with little comment, making no reference to the discussion of his dispute with La Roque in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*.⁹⁴ Bayle did provide a version of the full title of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, thereby informing his cousin that the text did not solely debate the viability of a reunification of the churches, but that it was also 'sur la question s'il faut user de violence contre les heretiques'.⁹⁵ Given the immediate context, one might have expected some further comment on this topic but Bayle did not elaborate upon it. There was no pained reference to the death of his brother, nor to the sufferings of those being persecuted in France at the time, nor even to the significance of the topic. Bayle simply continued with his account of publications, as he was used to do.

This letter is a significant contextual reference point as it highlights the fact that the dispute between Bayle and La Roque was resurrected in the immediate context of the death of Bayle's brother and more generally in the aftermath of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Despite this context, perhaps even because of it, Bayle adhered to the intellectual principles which he espoused as a member of the Republic of Letters, even in his private correspondence.

⁹³ Bayle, *Correspondance*, p.118.

⁹⁴ Bayle, p.118.

⁹⁵ Bayle, p.118.

Bayle commented publicly upon Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text in article IV of the December 1685 issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.⁹⁶ His discussion of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* formed part of a pair-text review with the *Tuba pacis ad universas dissidentes in Occidente Ecclesias, seu discursus Theologicus de unione Ecclesiarum Romanae & Protestantium* by Mathaeus Pretorius.⁹⁷ Both of these texts, reviewed in articles III and IV of that month's issue, discussed the possibility of a reunification of the two confessions.⁹⁸ Bayle did not write these reviews as a specific response to La Roque's criticism of his review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti*. As will become evident, the difference of opinion between La Roque and Bayle was largely subsumed in this pair-text review: the 'brûlante actualité' of the substantive questions that they discussed relating to the persecutions of Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes pushed the personal dimension of the dispute into the background.⁹⁹ In order to illustrate the substantive issues at play and their bearing upon our understanding of the context of the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, I will discuss the reviews of these texts, both individually and as a pair-text.

The *Tuba pacis ad universas dissidentes in Occidente Ecclesias* argued that reunification of Catholics and Protestants was possible and suggested a plan whereby this might be achieved. Bayle was highly critical of this text and its author. When detailing the progression of argument in the text, his own tone was highly ironic. This was particularly striking in contrast to the tone that he would employ in his review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*. This served to undermine the author's arguments in the *Tuba pacis ad universas dissidentes in Occidente Ecclesias*. Bayle's criticisms of the author were concerned with exposing Pretorius's

⁹⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, pp.1317-29.

⁹⁷ Bayle, art. iii, pp.1309-16.

⁹⁸ Bost discussed both of these reviews to illustrate Bayle's attitude towards the suggested ecumenical resolutions to the religious controversy. See Bost, *Pierre Bayle et la Question Religieuse dans les 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres' 1684-1687* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis: Université de Paul Valéry – Montpellier III, 1991), pp.138-61.

⁹⁹ Here I am drawing upon Bost, who accounted for the shift in Bayle's tone in the article on the *Tuba pacis ad universas dissidentes in Occidente Ecclesias*, by noting the 'actualité brûlante' of the issues in the text. Bost, *Pierre Bayle et la Question Religieuse dans les 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres'*, p.143.

claim to belong to the Augsburg Confession as an untruth.¹⁰⁰ Throughout the review, Bayle highlighted the ways in which the author's Catholic sympathies were betrayed. He suspiciously noted Pretorius's appointment as royal historiographer by the Catholic King of Poland and remarked upon Pretorius's aptitude for flattery. At one point he suggested that 'il fait l'éloge de l'Eglise Romaine tout comme s'il aspirait au Chapeau de Cardinal'.¹⁰¹ Bayle's exposure of Pretorius's Catholic sympathies functioned firstly to put readers on their guard when reading the text. It also allowed him to comment upon the idea of reunification, presented by Pretorius, as a specifically Catholic proposition. He rejected the plan for reunification suggested by the author of the *Tuba pacis ad universas dissidentes in Occidente Ecclesias* specifically because he wrote it 'plûtôt en *Convertisseur* qu'en arbitre'.¹⁰² According to Bayle, then, Pretorius's project of reunification did not imply any kind of ecumenical agreement between Catholics and Protestants, but rather the conversion of the latter to Catholicism. The plan was supposedly to re-institute France as a wholly Catholic nation. The reasons why Bayle thought this would prevent reunification are evident both in the final section of this review and at the start of the review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*.

At the end of the review of Pretorius's text proper, Bayle, uncharacteristically, took the opportunity to comment more generally upon the idea of reunification of the two confessions.¹⁰³ This emphasised the topicality and importance of the discussion of projects for reunification to him in the post-Revocation context. Bost has provided a detailed account of Bayle's discussion in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of the idea of reunification of the two confessions, correctly noting his complete incredulity at the possibility.¹⁰⁴ Bayle remarked in the review: 'C'est bien la plus grande Chimère du monde que de s'amuser à réunir des Religions, c'est chercher la pierre philosophale, ou la

¹⁰⁰ Acts of confessional dissembling were not unusual in texts pertaining to the religious controversy and manifested themselves in various forms. Bost also observed Bayle's intention: see *Pierre Bayle et la Question Religieuse dans les 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres'*, p.142.

¹⁰¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iii, p.1311.

¹⁰² Bayle, p.1315.

¹⁰³ This is highlighted by Bayle himself at the end of the review when he comments: 'Voilà de quoi contenter ceux qui souhaitent qu'au moins quelquefois nous donnions notre jugement sur les matières qui sont traitées dans les livres dont nous parlons'. Bayle, p.1316.

¹⁰⁴ Bost, *Pierre Bayle et la Question Religieuse dans les 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres'*, pp.142-3.

quadrature du cercle'.¹⁰⁵ He saw two primary factors as inhibiting the possibility of reunification. He pointed his finger at the Catholic Church, claiming that it was not willing to sacrifice anything for the sake of achieving peace.¹⁰⁶ However, his disillusionment was more far-reaching than the immediate context. Bayle noted that contrary to its putative role as a bringer of harmony and concord, religion was 'un principe de querelle, & un levain qui aigrit & qui foment l'antipathie'.¹⁰⁷ He cast the factional nature of religion itself as an insuperable obstacle because religious zeal, more than any other motivation, would make man 'farouche' and liable to carry out 'mille malhonnêtetés'.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, Bayle insisted that this would prevent reunification of two rival confessions. Religious zeal which aimed at conversion was represented as a divisive force, calling into question its value to society, where its supposed role was to assist in the inculcation of discipline and unity. Thus, the history of violence pertaining to the religious controversy and more significantly to the immediate post-Revocation context prompted Bayle to express his disillusionment about what revealed religions or religious unity more generally could contribute to society.

The discussion of the possibility of reunification in this first review had two primary purposes. Firstly, it afforded Bayle the opportunity to express his misgivings about the topical issue of reunification of the two religions, evoking both the factional nature of religion and the destructive nature of zeal. Secondly, it allowed Bayle to present (and ultimately undermine) a 'Catholic' project for reunification, prior to presenting a Protestant text that also rejected the possibility of reunification. The purpose of the pair-text review is made explicit at the start of the review of Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text.

Bayle commenced the review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* by setting its discourse in contrast with that in the *Tuba pacis ad universas dissidentes in Occidente Ecclesias*. He informed his reader that 'L'Auteur de ce livre va nous tenir un langage bien contraire à celui du Ministre de Prusse que l'on vient

¹⁰⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iii, p.1315.

¹⁰⁶ Bayle, pp.1316. Bost highlights Bayle's absolute conviction about the impossibility of reunification of the two confessions, noting how Bayle claimed one would be more likely to discover the Philosopher's Stone. Bost, *Pierre Bayle et la Question Religieuse dans les 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres'*, pp.142-3.

¹⁰⁷ Bayle, p.1315

¹⁰⁸ Bayle, pp.1315-16.

d'entendre dans l'article précédent'.¹⁰⁹ This comment served, once again, to highlight the confessional and moral differences between the authors of these texts. As will be discussed in detail in a later chapter, these confessions were distinguishable by their respective discourses, with the dispute over who spoke the language of Jesus being one of the ways in which the religious controversy can be understood.¹¹⁰ The distinction in discourse was also indicative of the difference of opinion between Pretorius and Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard both about the possibility of reunification and also about the accounts of the conversions in France. Bayle claimed that the call for reunification in the *Tuba pacis ad universas dissidentes in Occidente Ecclesias* was poorly timed because stories of the treatment which Protestants had suffered under Catholics in France had spread across Europe. Bayle wrote that Huguenot refugees across Europe 'ne cessent de dire & par écrit & de vive voix qu'on leur a fait souffrir les choses les plus indignes' and provided a summary list of their complaints.¹¹¹ The use of force however did not feature in Catholic accounts. These contrasted and contradictory positions were then set within the specific post-Revocation context by Bayle in order to emphasise the fact that the Pretorius's call for reunification under the Catholic Church had not taken the contemporary situation into consideration. This highlighted the urgency and immediate relevance of the contested issues in the texts reviewed by Bayle. By this means he encouraged his readers to predicate their reception and understanding of the substantive claims of these texts upon the contemporary politico-religious situation in France. In this context, conversion to Catholicism would mean subscribing to the morality of a religion in which the violent acts perpetrated against the Huguenots were justified. Thus, Bayle presented the possibility of reunification, which would re-institute France as a wholly Catholic nation, as being as improbable as it would be reprehensible to Huguenots. Consequently, Bayle claimed that the Huguenots would much prefer the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, which rejected the possibility of reunification, particularly in the sense meant by Catholic authors.

The purpose of the pair-text review was, then, to enable Bayle, through a contextualisation of the texts in these reviews, to impose an immediate reading upon his readers, whereby they were required to consider both the relationship of the

¹⁰⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, p.1317.

¹¹⁰ See ch.6, pp.171-4.

¹¹¹ Bayle, p.1317.

substantive claims of each author to the post-Revocation context and also how, in the light of this, their respective positions reflected upon each party. This shifted the discussion about the legitimacy of forced conversions and the possibility of reunification of the two confessions from being a theoretical and almost abstract question to one which was relevant in an immediate and palpably human context.

Bayle's review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* contributed to the dispute between these two *journalistes* about the legitimate means of conversion in two main ways. Not only did the review deal with Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's criticisms of La Roque's comments on the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti*, it also commented upon other substantive questions relating to the religious controversy which form part of the general context of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. The review is divided into three discrete sections, throughout which Bayle's tone alternated. I will discuss each of these sections to illustrate their relevance to the dispute and the genesis of Bayle's pamphlet.

The first section opened with the comments upon the difference between the two texts in this pair review which I have already discussed. These comments paved the way for a consideration of the intellectual implications of the bias and intransigence that Bayle argued were inherent in the religious controversy. Having provided a summary of the Huguenots' complaints against the Catholics, he wrote:

Soit qu'ils disent vrai, soit qu'ils disent faux ils ne manquent gueres de persuader ceux de leur parti, tant est grande la disposition qui se trouve dans l'une des deux Religions à croire le mal que l'on dit de l'autre[.]¹¹²

This comment provoked criticism from Bayle's co-religionists relevant to the progression of the dispute, which I will discuss in detail shortly.¹¹³ Bayle provided examples, via quotation, of the criticisms which both Catholic and Protestant intellectuals levelled against each other. His use of citation allowed each confession, particularly the Catholic voice, to retain its 'integrity'.¹¹⁴ His presentation of these criticisms was thus confessionally impartial. In the rest of this section, Bayle discussed the intellectual consequences of the bias in the religious controversy. He complained that nobody used charity when forming judgements on the works of

¹¹² Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, p.1317.

¹¹³ See below, pp.101-2.

¹¹⁴ Lennon, *Reading Bayle*, pp.12-41.

others.¹¹⁵ The implication here is that these intellectuals were falling short of the principles which governed exchange and criticism in the Republic of Letters. Bayle bemoaned that the relationship between the two confessions had degraded to such an extent that pagans would be more likely to elicit praise in the contemporary climate.¹¹⁶ Thus, the inherent bias of those contributing to the religious controversy meant that any kind of meaningful or productive dialogue between the two confessions was inhibited. Religious affiliations, therefore, had permeated into the supposedly non-confessional space of the Republic of Letters.

In this section Bayle was functioning in his role as a member of the Republic of Letters: his tone was moderate and he was equitable and impartial. In relation to the dispute between Bayle and La Roque this section is important in that Bayle's comments here prompt criticisms which form the basis of a possible explanation of the rhetorical structure of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

The second section is the actual review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*. The review followed the standard format in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, with Bayle providing a summary of the progression of the author's argument throughout each dialogue in the text. In this review there was no hint of the irony and sarcasm that had been prevalent in his discussion of Pretorius's text, nor, however, did he profusely praise *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* or its author. Bayle's praise of the text was limited to one sentence at the end of the section, where he wrote: 'Voilà les principales choses qui sont contenuës dans cet Ouvrage où l'on peut dire sans flater l'Auteur, qu'il régné beaucoup de bon sens & de netteté d'esprit'.¹¹⁷ By stating that his praise was not flattery, Bayle was attempting to make his opinion in favour of the text seem disinterested. The tone of his review could thus almost be characterised as impartial. However, with this comment Bayle had also lent his support to the substantive claims made in Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text. Consequently, his summary of the progression of the argument in the *Dialogues entre Photin & Irénée* against the idea of reunification and forced conversions and also his criticisms of the behaviour and position of the Catholic position loses its impartial or factual nature. The summary of the text allowed Bayle

¹¹⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, p.1320.

¹¹⁶ Bayle, p.1320.

¹¹⁷ Bayle, p.1326.

to criticise Catholics, without actually having to be responsible for the comments. His review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* provided a ready-made rejection of the possibility of reunification of the two confessions and also a response to La Roque's review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti*. Thus, although Bayle's tone seemed impartial, this apparent impartiality was offset by his acceptance of the critical position in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* against Catholics. Moreover, his partiality was betrayed when he uncharacteristically interjected with an explicit criticism of a Catholic position, which will be discussed in detail shortly. In a sense this analysis of the review exemplifies the difficulty in assessing the extent to which Bayle remained impartial in his role as editor of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.

Of particular interest to my discussion in this section, is Bayle's treatment of fifth and sixth dialogues of the second volume of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* in which his disagreement with La Roque over the conversion methods employed by Olaus was discussed. Bayle's presentation of the dispute is curious because he effaced his own role in it. He wrote:

Dans le 5. Dialogue en examinant la voie de *conversion* il recherche s'il est permis d'y employer les peines & les récompenses, & sur cela il prend à partie M. l'Abbé de la Roque qui s'est hautement déclaré dans son Journal du 16. Avril 1685. pour ceux qui emploient la violence à la conversion des Hérétiques.¹¹⁸

Bayle made no reference either to the fact that La Roque was prompted to write because of Bayle's comments in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, or to the fact that the discussion in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* was presented as a defence of his position against La Roque's comments. Having removed himself from the genesis of the dispute, Bayle balanced the dynamic of the dispute by placing Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard in his place. The argument-counter-argument dynamic of the religious controversy was thus re-instituted. Bayle, however, did not entirely erase himself from the dispute. By means of his explicit condemnation of La Roque's support of forced conversions and his affirmation of Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's comments, Bayle re-inserted himself into the dynamic of the dispute on the Huguenot side. Thus, while Bayle's true role in the dispute was obscured, the reader was left in no doubt as to his allegiance.

¹¹⁸ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, pp.1325-26.

In terms of his review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti*, La Roque was held doubly culpable by Bayle: not only did he declare his opinion in support of the use of force for obtaining conversions, he also attempted to justify and give credence to it by citing Saint Augustine.¹¹⁹ Bayle touched on a number of aspects of the dispute with La Roque in relation to each of these charges.

Bayle wrote of La Roque's opinion that it was one 'qu'on peut appeller la maladie invétérée du monde'.¹²⁰ With the word 'invétérée', Bayle attributed a long and festering history to La Roque's erroneous opinion. Moreover, by classifying it in terms of the world, or as a universal opinion, he was playing upon the claim that the Catholic Church was universal and therefore the true Church. The support of forced conversions was thereby presented as a universal Catholic error. The use of this polemical phrase had two specific purposes. Firstly, Bayle's position on this issue was made clear to his readers. The second purpose of the phrase was elucidated by his explanation of La Roque's persistence in this erroneous opinion. Bayle wrote that it was an opinion 'qu'il ne pouvoit pas bonnement abandonner dans le temps où nous vivons'.¹²¹ This suggested that the orthodox opinion of contemporary society was infected by and also sustaining this 'maladie invétérée'. Thus, Bayle presented La Roque's opinion as being born of and bound by the contemporary requirements of the politico-religious orthodoxy in the France of Louis XIV: if La Roque denounced the use of force for conversions he would be placing himself outside that society and be forced to suffer the consequences of such an exclusion. The intransigence which this situation required of La Roque implied that attempting to refute it would be futile. Therefore, Bayle's comments suggested that regardless of how the opinion was characterised, and of the virulence of the language employed, La Roque would not be prompted to change his mind in the contemporary situation. It is possible that Bayle here was also reacting to the characterisation in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* of his previous comments as moderate in contrast with those of the Archbishop of Paris, M. de Péréfixe. Bayle could have been responding to a possible jibe by highlighting the irrelevance of the tone in the current situation. His comments on La Roque's opinion about forced conversions had two purposes here. Firstly, they reinforced the concerns which he had expressed, in the first section of

¹¹⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, p.1326.

¹²⁰ Bayle, pp.1325-26.

¹²¹ Bayle, pp.1325-26.

the review, about the impact of the religious controversy upon intellectual exchanges. Secondly, it linked La Roque's position inextricably with the demands of the politico-religious orthodoxy of contemporary France. This prompts questions both about the morality of a wholly Catholic France and also about the possibility of Catholics altering their stance on this.

Bayle's second criticism of La Roque was that he justified his opinion by appealing to the writings of Saint Augustine. The culpability here seems to lie in that the justification of the use of force with reference to one of the pre-eminent Church Fathers and other scriptural references, such as the Parable of the Wedding Feast, would suggest that this behaviour was compatible with Christian morality. Bayle informed the reader that it was La Roque's scriptural justification of forced conversions that prompted Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard to respond. The remainder of the review proper was concerned with showing how Saint Augustine's position was refuted in the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*. He provided a concise account of the authors who were cited against La Roque's position: the authority of Augustine was pitted against that of Jesus Christ, the apostles, the primitive Church, among others.¹²² The effect of this was to suggest to the reader that in supporting the use of force for conversions, La Roque and Saint Augustine, stood very much in the minority. Moreover, it meant rejecting the tenets of Christian morality expounded by Jesus Christ himself. Finally, Bayle noted that in the sixth dialogue, Augustine's support for the use of force to obtain conversions was shown to be the effect of prejudice and that therefore his arguments could not be employed to justify the behaviour towards the Huguenots in France. Thus, he employed his review of Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text to reject the opinion expounded by La Roque in his review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti*, both by demonstrating the incompatibility of Augustine's position with Christian morality and by insisting that his arguments did not apply to the present situation.

In the final section of the review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, Bayle brought the substantive claims of the text up to date by conjecturing what the author would have said if the text had been written a few months later, in other

¹²² Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, p.1326.

words after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.¹²³ This reinforced Bayle's demand that his readers understand the substantive claims in these texts in terms of the immediate context of the persecutions in France. In that scenario, Bayle suggested that Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard would have discussed both the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the dragoons. In terms of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Bayle did not offer a suggestion as to what Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard might have written about it. Rather, he surmised as to the content of the funeral orations of M. Le Tellier, the chancellor under whom the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was passed.¹²⁴ His ironic tone indicated his dissatisfaction at the fact that Le Tellier would be praised for this act, again indicating his concerns about the morality of French society at the time. However, the main thrust of Bayle's concern lay with the treatment by contemporary authors of the dragoons.

Bayle noted that news of the 'missions militaires' was everywhere 'dans nos Gazettes, & dans la bouche de tous nos Réfugiez'.¹²⁵ The possessive adjectives in this sentence indicate the confessional divide in terms of the reports about the recent events in France: the dragoons were being discussed in Protestant texts, but not in texts produced by Catholics. The recording and representation of the actions against the Huguenots in France was raised by Bayle as a serious issue in the aftermath of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Bayle remarked that this disparity was problematic because 'cela rend un peu suspectes de fausseté auprès de certaines gens les Relations Huguenotes'.¹²⁶ Bayle maliciously continued to explain this situation:

s'il étoit vrai que les soldats commissent tant de violences, les Auteurs François ne le dissimuleroient pas, puisqu'ils avoient hautement qu'il est conforme à la piété des plus religieux Empereurs, à l'Esprit de l'Evangile & à la doctrine du grand Augustin de contraindre d'entrer par la rigueur des châtimens temporels ceux qui ne veulent pas se convertir de bonne grace.¹²⁷

In this section Bayle had already utilised the comments made in the *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* written by the Scottish theologian and scholar, Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) in order to attribute the Catholic Church with a

¹²³ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, p.1327. See also Bost, *Pierre Bayle et la Question Religieuse dans les 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres'*, p.594.

¹²⁴ Bayle, p.1327. In her edition of Bayle's pamphlet, Labrousse provides a sample of the praise of Louis XIV for the conversion of Huguenots in two of the funeral orations for Le Tellier, one delivered by the Abbé Maboul and the other delivered in Latin at the Sorbonne. See Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, pp.91-2, n.8.

¹²⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, pp.1327-8.

¹²⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p.1329.

¹²⁷ Bayle, p.1329.

long history of violence. On this basis, Bayle argued that violence for Catholics was merely 'une affaire d'habitude' and consequently the astonishment in Protestant countries at the behaviour of Catholics in France was in fact misplaced.¹²⁸ Moreover, employing an Aristotelian metaphor which recurs in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, Bayle insisted that intolerance was part of the natural make-up of Catholics. He wrote: 'Il faut trouver bon que chaque chose agisse selon ses principes & se mette dans son état naturel. Or il est seur que la tolerance est un état contre nature à l'égard des Catholiques'.¹²⁹ Thus, Bayle had laid the foundations for the claim that Catholics should admit to the use of force because they believed that it was compatible with the spirit of the Gospel and Christian morality. His reference to grace at the end of the quotation was undoubtedly intended ironically to belie the claim that conversions obtained through temporal rigour were compatible with Christian morality and doctrine. However, with the above assertion, Bayle's primary intention was to point out the incongruity of the Catholics' position: although authors like La Roque defended force as a legitimate means of obtaining conversions, they nonetheless refused to admit to the use of force in the conversions in France. At the end of this section, Bayle announced the appearance of a text entitled *Conformité de la conduite de l'Eglise de France pour ramener les Protestans avec celle de l'Eglise de l'Afrique pour ramener les Donatistes à la foi Catholique*.¹³⁰ He ruefully suggested that an avowal of the use of force might be found in this text.¹³¹ Bayle's increasing concern with the refusal of Catholic authors to acknowledge the dragoons was evident in his preoccupation with obtaining an avowal of what he referred to in another article in that issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* as the 'Terrible Oüi'. He did this in a review of the *Défense du culte extérieur de l'Eglise Catholique* by the Catholic David Augustin de Brueys (1631-1723).¹³² Brueys argued (among other things) that:

¹²⁸ Bayle, pp.1328-9. Bayle had reviewed the French translation of Burnet's text just a month previously. See Bayle, Nov., 1685, art. vi, pp.1234-54; Gilbert Burnet, *Histoire de la Réformation de l'Eglise de l'Angleterre seconde partie, contenant le progrès de la Réformation sous le Règne d'Edoüard VI. son renversement sous l'autorité de Marie, & son rétablissement par la piété 'Elisabet*, trans. by M. de Rosemond ([?]).

¹²⁹ Bayle, p.1328. Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.41.

¹³⁰ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p.1329.

¹³¹ Bayle, p.1329.

¹³² Bayle, Catalogue de Livres art. I, pp.1380-2.

il n'est pas possible de s'imaginer [...] que les derniers moiens dont on s'est servi pour les [the Huguenots] obliger à renoncer à leur schisme eussent eu tant de succès, si généralement tous les esprits du parti n'avoient été secretement portez à revenir à l'unité de la foi Catholique.¹³³

Bayle remarked, in response to this comment, that people would have been very much obliged to Brueys if he had been more precise in relating what specifically 'ces derniers moiens' consisted of; that is, if he admitted to the use of 'de bons Régimens de Dragons' to obtain the conversions of the Huguenots.¹³⁴ Bayle wrote: 'Tous les Etrangers attendent avec la dernière impatience qu'il plaise aux Ecrivains François de prononcer ce terrible Oüi'.¹³⁵ He continued this theme in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* in the following months and indeed in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.¹³⁶

Bayle's review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* contributed to this dispute in a number of ways. Firstly, the personal dimension of the dispute between Bayle and La Roque acquired a secondary role, with substantive issues relating to the religious controversy being brought to the fore. Secondly, the substantive focus of the dispute expanded and evolved. While Bayle reiterated the condemnation of forced conversions, his imposition of an 'immediate' reading shifted the emphasis of the dispute to an attack upon Catholics' account of the conversions. Running throughout Bayle's discussion of these issues was an unrelenting questioning of the morality of the Catholic Church and the implications of speaking the language of that religion. More generally, the value of religion, presented here as fostering faction, is questioned in terms of creating social cohesion and unity. As the dispute progressed then, the intellectual discussion of the legitimate means of conversion falls somewhat to the wayside. On the other hand, the new elements incorporated into the dispute at this point became increasingly important to the development of the dispute and ultimately our understanding of the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

Bayle's review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* prompted criticism from a number of sources. Given the explicit attack upon La Roque's opinion, it is

¹³³ Brueys, *Défense du culte extérieur de l'Eglise Catholique* (Paris : S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1686), as cited in Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p.1381

¹³⁴ Bayle, p.1381.

¹³⁵ Bayle, p.1382.

¹³⁶ For explicit references to the 'terrible Oüi' see Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Jan., 1686, art.vii, p.67; Jul., 1686, art. viii, p.809.

no surprise that he commented upon it. La Roque did this in his review of Gautereau's text in the the *Journal des Sçavans* issue from 17 February 1686.¹³⁷ However, from the issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* from that same month, it is evident that Bayle also suffered critique for his comments from other sources, both Protestant and Catholic alike.¹³⁸ In this chapter, I will only discuss the criticisms to which Bayle responded in the February 1686 issue of his journal. As my discussion of La Roque's response will draw together the two disputes and definitively show their relationship to the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, I will discuss his review of Gautereau's text in the third chapter of this thesis.

Bayle addressed the criticisms of his comments in the review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* in his review of Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand*.¹³⁹ In this review there were two substantive issues addressed. Firstly, Bayle criticised authors, like Maimbourg, who described the conversions in France as non-violent. This section dealt with some of the recurrent issues in the dispute which forms part of the wider context for understanding the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. It also provides an image of the basis upon which Bayle built his comments in the second section. In the second section, he discussed the appropriate reaction to these prevaricative depictions. This prompted Bayle to discuss the criticisms of his review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*. I will discuss both sections as they each have relevance for the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

Bayle took Maimbourg to task for his characterisation of the conversions in France. In the dedicatory letter of his *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire*, Maimbourg provided this description of the conversions:

*le Roy a trouvé l'art de contraindre sans violence selon l'esprit de l'Evangile de rentrer dans l'Eglise Catholique les Protestants, qu'il les ramene à Jesus Christ avec autant de justice que de bonté, & d'une manière aussi douce qu'efficace, & sans employer contre eux d'autres armes ni d'autres forces que celles de son charitable zele pour leur conversion & de la justice toute manifeste de ses ordonnances & de ses Edits.*¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, II, 17 Feb., 1686, pp.37-41.

¹³⁸ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Feb., 1686, art. vii, pp.205-9.

¹³⁹ Bayle, pp.184-209. The parts of the sentence in italics show the places where Bayle was directly citing from Maimbourg's text in his review.

¹⁴⁰ Bayle, pp.201-2.

It is evident from this quotation that Maimbourg elided the billeting of troops and other forms of violence from his depiction of the conversions. Bayle asserted that because Catholics elide or deny the use of force, they 'obscurcissent en tant qu'en eux est à nôtre posterité l'Histoire moderne'.¹⁴¹ According to Bayle, then, the Catholic accounts prevented the establishment of an accurate historical record. Bayle suggested that Maimbourg could have been excused for his description prior to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. However, he insisted that after 'le ravage qui a été fait dans tout le Royaume par les Soldats', such a description was unacceptable. Thus, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the concomitant violence was a turning point or perhaps a step too far, following which denial of the use of force by Catholics could be nothing short of malicious deceit. Bayle accounted for Maimbourg's position, surmising that it was motivated by self-interest.¹⁴² Although Maimbourg's Gallican leanings had acquired the protection of Louis XIV for him, it had also resulted in him being defrocked and expelled from the Society of Jesus. Maimbourg, consequently (so Bayle would have his readers believe), wanted to repair his relationship with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Bayle reported that Maimbourg had asked Ferrand not to refute arguments made by the Protestants against him because the more the Huguenots attacked him, the more honour he would acquire in the world and particularly in Rome.¹⁴³ Thus, the truth-value of Maimbourg's depiction of the conversions was undermined by Bayle with this charge of self-interest, which elsewhere in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* he had presented as perpetuating intransigence within the religious controversy. Moreover, with these comments Bayle condemned Maimbourg for acting upon such motivations, which placed his writings outside the domain of the Republic of Letters.

Bayle's criticism of Maimbourg served as a platform from which he launched a more general attack against all those who would paint the conversions in France as non-violent. Bayle accused these authors of bad faith, asking: 'N'est-ce

¹⁴¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p.208.

¹⁴² Maimbourg had been expelled from the Society of Jesus and was out of favour at Rome. It was suggested that Maimbourg's contributions to the religious controversy were an attempt to restore his relationship with Rome: the more Maimbourg was seen to be a thorn in the side of Huguenot authors, the better he would fare in Rome. Bayle, pp.192-3.

¹⁴³ Bayle, p.200.

point écrire avec une mauvaise foi la plus criminelle qui se puisse voir'?¹⁴⁴ This accusation had both secular and religious implications: the terms 'criminelle' and 'mauvaise foi' could be employed in the lexicon of each of these domains. Thus, these writers were doubly culpable: they were accused under both civil law and also under the laws of God or Christian morality. The accusation of bad faith against Catholic authors also recurs in the dispute between Bayle and La Roque over the writings of Ferrand.

Bayle made two comments supposedly in defence of the authors who represented the conversions in France as non-violent. However, his explanations for their accounts of the conversions were barely veiled criticisms, forming part of the discourse which Bayle employed and would continue to employ against the Catholics in the coming months. The first explanation was that Catholic authors discarded as spurious any accounts of the conversions which were not those of the *intendants* or governors, not suspecting that in turn those documents could be inaccurate. He thereby accused the authors of credulity and questioned the veracity of the reports of the *intendants*. This criticism reflected one of the themes evident throughout the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* which was that of proper historical method. The second defence was that those authors did not perceive any violence in the actions that occurred on account of the fact that pain and violence are measured subjectively. Bayle wrote:

on ne doit pas être prompt à juger ces Ecrivains Catholiques [... *qui*] parlent contre leur conscience, car si ces Ecrivains sont du nombre des Convertisseurs, je veux dire de ces gens qui se sont mis dans la tête de faire changer de Religion aux Protestans à quelque prix que ce soit, on a lieu de croire qu'ils sont devenus fort durs, & qu'ils ne trouvent presque rien de rude pour ces opiniâtres d'Hérétiques.¹⁴⁵

At this point Bayle's criticism turned specifically against authors who were also missionaries. He hinted at the immorality of their actions, when he maintained that they wanted conversions no matter what the cost. This raised once again the issue of the efficacy and moral consequences of the use of force to obtain conversions. His justification of the Catholic accounts, that their authors were hardened and therefore did not perceive anything violent, suggested that the moral compass of the Catholic Church was skewed. Bayle described Catholicism, as expounded and practiced by these authors and missionaries, as 'la meilleure Ecole d'*inclemence*', thereby

¹⁴⁴ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p.202.

¹⁴⁵ Bayle, p.204.

suggesting that it was not acting in accordance with the clemency dictated by Christian morality. This moral fault ultimately undermined its claim to be the one true religion. This perversion of Christian morality and its consequences for French society was an accusation which Bayle employed again and expanded upon in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

Bayle had one final criticism to make of the contributions of Catholic authors to the religious controversy. He confronted them with the fact that 'ces derniers expédiens [i.e. the dragoons] ont converti plus de monde en 2. ou 3. mois, que les livres de controverse & les sermons n'en avoient pû convertir en tout un siècle'.¹⁴⁶ Consequently, he argued that it was the soldiers who carried out the dragoons that would reap the benefit of these actions on Judgement Day and not writers like Maimbourg. Bayle offered as consolation the fact that it was 'un grand honneur pour la Communion de Rome d'avoir ruiné la Réformation en France par le ministère de gens *ignares et non lettrez*, qui n'avoient jamais manié que le sabre'.¹⁴⁷ With biting sarcasm, he compared the conversion methods of the soldiers from the dragoons with those of the apostles, 'idiots & sans lettres', who brought about the end of paganism.¹⁴⁸ His comparison implied that the conversions in France could not have been the result of actual religious instruction, thereby, once again, questioning the validity and efficacy of force as a means of obtaining conversions.

Bayle's comments on Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire* reinforced the prominence of the Catholic representations of the conversions as an issue at this point. His discussion of the moral consequences of the forced conversions and the implications of Catholics' behaviour in France foreshadows his expanded elucidation of these issues in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

Having condemned the writings of Catholic authors, Bayle addressed the question of the appropriate response to them. His suggested answer was expressed by means of a question to his audience (using the rhetorical devise of anacoenosis): 'Qui ne s'emporteroit, dit-on, contre un Ecrivain qui ose soutenir qu'on ne s'est servi que des voies douces pour ruiner la Religion Réformée en France?'¹⁴⁹ With this

¹⁴⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Feb., 1686, art. vii, p.204.

¹⁴⁷ Bayle, p.205.

¹⁴⁸ Bayle, p.205.

¹⁴⁹ Bayle, pp.201-2.

rhetorical question, Bayle suggested that the natural or instinctual reaction to the inaccurate depictions of a peaceful conversion process by Catholic authors was anger. By means of the verb 'emporter', the violence and turbulence of the reaction was expressed. However, the internal violence of *emportement* is channelled outward against Catholic authors, suggesting the necessity of an explicit, unambiguous condemnation of their writings. In suggesting such a reaction, not only was Bayle definitive in his condemnation of Catholic authors, but he was also attempting to guide his readers' reactions. In the light of his assertion that anger was the natural and appropriate reaction, the tone of Bayle's own response to contemporary events could be called into question.

At the end of his discussion of Catholic authors who denied the use of force, Bayle clarified his own use of tone for his readers. He described his comments in that section as 'une petite raillerie'.¹⁵⁰ His use of *raillerie* in this review can be elucidated by La Rochefoucauld's description of it: 'La raillerie est un air de gaieté qui remplit l'imagination, et qui lui fait voir en ridicule les objets qui se présentent; l'humeur y mêle plus ou moins de douceur ou d'âpreté'.¹⁵¹ Bayle acknowledged that his apparent defence of Catholic authors was actually criticism. The clarification of his intended meaning in this section was prompted by the fact that his comments that were expressed in a similar tone in his review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* were misunderstood by both Protestants and Catholics. Bayle informed his readers that his comments on contemporary events 'ont été mal pris en deux manières opposées par l'excès & par le défaut, & cela selon les divers partis où ce sont trouvez les Lecteurs'.¹⁵² As discussed in my introduction, the use of irony, then, was problematic because unlike angry polemic it functions implicitly and is dependent upon the complicity of one's readers.¹⁵³ The implicit nature of irony, particularly in texts which criticised a social, political or religious orthodoxy, required that readers of a similar subversive persuasion would read the text looking

¹⁵⁰ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Feb., 1686, art. vii, p.205.

¹⁵¹ Littré entry on 'raillerie'. *Raillerie* was a kind of mocking or jesting which formed part of the discourse employed by the *honnêtes gens* at court: it was a means of giving life to conversation which might otherwise turn dry and boring. Engaging in *raillerie* also meant that one was engaged in a kind of competition or game in that the first person either to fail to return a witty comment or to lose their temper was seen to be the loser in the exchange of banter. See Nicolas Faret, *L'Honneste Homme* (1636), pp.81-2.

¹⁵² Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, pp.205-6.

¹⁵³ See Introduction, pp.17-20.

for some indicators of irony. Curiously, in this instance, the role of the complicit reader was inverted so that Catholic readers identified Bayle's subversive use of irony, while the Protestants supposedly did not.

Bayle's Protestant readers found his comments in that review to be lacking, in terms of defending their position. Bayle wrote 'Quelques Protestans ont trouvé là je ne sçai quel air d'Apologie ou à tout le moins d'incertitude fort scandaleuse'.¹⁵⁴ The Protestant criticism was primarily directed against his comment, 'soit qu'ils disent vrai, soit qu'ils disent faux' following an account of the Huguenot descriptions of the conversions which to them seemed to question the veracity of the accounts.¹⁵⁵ His tone then was considered to be insufficiently explicit and definitive in favour of the Huguenot depiction of the conversions. Bayle presented himself as being hurt by this criticism: 'Je suis fâché pour l'amour d'eux qu'ils m'ayent contraint de publier une chose aussi surprenante que celle de s'imaginer bonnement que je doute qu'on ait employé la force & les logemens de soldats pour la ruine du parti'.¹⁵⁶ Bayle's defence of his tone was two-fold. He justified his use of the phrase by saying that it was merely 'le *dato non concessio* des Logiciens'. Consequently, he claimed the phrase did not impinge upon the claims to veracity of the Huguenot account. Moreover, he suggested that the Protestant assessment of his tone would have been more just 's'ils avoient un peu étudié l'esprit naturel & legitime d'un Journal des Sçavans'.¹⁵⁷ In the Republic of Letters, there was an unwritten code of ethics pertaining to criticism which forbade that either criticism or praise be motivated by national or confessional bias.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, it also forbade personal attacks upon authors and the use of harsh or violent language when critiquing another. Thus, in response to Protestant criticism that he was not sufficiently explicit, Bayle insisted that his comments and tone must be understood within these restrictions, stating that these were intended to reflect that 'on ne veut pas s'engager dans des discussions qui ne sont pas de ces lieux là'.¹⁵⁹

Catholic readers of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, on the other hand, found Bayle's comments to be culpable in two respects. Firstly, Catholics

¹⁵⁴ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p.206.

¹⁵⁵ Bayle, p.207.

¹⁵⁶ Bayle, p.207.

¹⁵⁷ Bayle, p.207.

¹⁵⁸ See ch.1, pp.46-50.

¹⁵⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Feb., 1686, art. vii, pp.207-8.

argued that because his journal was in the domain of the Republic of Letters it should only concern itself with books and not with the actions of men.¹⁶⁰ Thus, this *journaliste* was accused of exceeding his remit by Catholics. He defended his discussion of the 'actions de l'homme' in the Republic of Letters by reiterating that his condemnation was of the silence and misleading polemic of Catholic authors about the dragoons. He insisted that it was 'la plus insigne mauvaise foi qui ait paru dans le monde, & la plus digne de l'horreur & de l'execration du genre humain', intended to discredit Huguenot authors as 'des calomniateurs infames'.¹⁶¹ Bayle justified his discussion of the conversions in France as a necessary defence of the implicated Huguenot authors against the criticism of Catholic authors. The second Catholic criticism insisted that beneath Bayle's 'feinte modération', there was 'une ironie maligne & une invective très-sanglante'.¹⁶² According to Catholics, his tone in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* could be 'fort sobre', without fear of negative ramifications because 'la Croisade Dragonne étant un fait si notoire qu'il ne peut jamais tomber dans le cas du Pyrrhonisme historique'.¹⁶³ Bayle defended his tone insisting that he was merely using 'une petite figure de Rhétorique qu'on appelle l'Ironie', which had been employed by illustrious ancestors such as Socrates and Plato in 'les matières les plus relevées'.¹⁶⁴ He also asserted that he thought that it would be the best way to correct the obstinacy of Catholic authors. His use of irony against the obstinacy of Catholics stands in stark contrast to their use of violence against the obstinacy of the heretics. Ultimately, Bayle insisted that he would continue to employ irony, leaving it to others to refute seriously Catholic accounts of the conversions. He justified this decision by evoking a maxim of Tertullian: '*multa sunt risu digna revinci ne graviter adorentur*'.¹⁶⁵ Bayle suggested that he did not want to give credit to Catholic accounts by refuting them seriously. However, from a letter that he had written to Vincent Minutoli, a friend and correspondent, it is evident that he was aware that irony could often be much more effective than a direct attack. He wrote: 'A propos de l'ironie [...] il faut que je vous avouë franchement qu'elle me deplaît en bien des rencontres; et cela parce qu'elle est trop

¹⁶⁰ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Feb., 1686, art. vii, p.206.

¹⁶¹ Bayle, pp.206-7.

¹⁶² Bayle, p.206.

¹⁶³ Bayle, p.206.

¹⁶⁴ Bayle, p.208.

¹⁶⁵ Bayle, pp.208-9.

sanglante, et qu'elle fait voir plus de malignité qu'une invective déclarée'.¹⁶⁶ It is possible that Bayle's claim that he was only employing 'une petite figure de Rhétorique' was not as innocent as this comment, taken at face value, would imply. Thus, Bayle employed irony as the means by which to defend of his use of that rhetorical device.

Thus, in the month prior to his writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* addressed the issue of the appropriate response to the Catholic depictions of the conversions. Bayle affirmed that the natural response was a display of *emportement* against Catholic authors. In doing this he advocated an explicit and vociferous refutation of Catholic accounts. Despite this and indeed the interpretative problems posed by irony, in the month prior to the publication of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, Bayle affirmed his intention to employ this rhetorical figure against Catholics in the religious controversy. His pamphlet must therefore be approached with this tactic in mind.¹⁶⁷

Bayle's comments in his review of Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand* contributed to this dispute with La Roque in several ways. Firstly, this review continued to emphasise the role of contemporary events in this dispute, focusing in particular upon the moral implications of Catholics' actions, both in terms of the conversions and their treatment of the issue. The relationship of the dispute to the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is becoming ever more evident as the substantive concerns are seen to overlap. Secondly, Bayle's discussion of the appropriate way to respond to Catholics was significant. His advocacy of *emportement* as the natural response stood in contrast to his use of irony for this purpose. His conflicting assertions here may help to explain the rhetorical structure of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* or at least the angry tone of the first Huguenot letter therein.

Bayle's review of Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand*, in which he responds to one of the batches of the criticism levelled against his comments on the *Dialogue entre Photin et Irénée* is the last source pertaining to

¹⁶⁶ Bayle as cited in McKenna, 'L'Ironie de Bayle' in Isabelle and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, p.252.

¹⁶⁷ Bayle retracted this commitment to the use of irony in a review of Jean Claude's *Les Plaintes des Protestans* in the May 1686 issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.

this dispute that I will discuss in this chapter. In next chapter, I will discuss the other source in which criticism of this also appeared, that is, in La Roque's review of Gautereau's text, which, as noted previously, draws the two disputes together. A number of points were raised in this chapter which are important to our understanding of both the substantive claims made and the rhetorical strategy employed in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

In terms of the rhetorical structure, this dispute was relevant in two ways. Firstly, the emphasis on the bias in both the reading and writing practices of those involved in the religious controversy points towards one possible explanation of the rhetorical structure for the pamphlet, which I will discuss in chapter four of this thesis. This also points towards the extent to which the religious controversy was impinging upon the domain of the Republic of Letters. Secondly, Bayle's preoccupation with the appropriate response to the Catholic accounts of the conversions provides a context in which we can begin to develop an understanding of his writing strategy in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. In this dispute two substantive issues of particular importance are examined. The efficacy and the legitimacy of forced conversions was the issue which precipitated this dispute. As the dispute between the two *journalistes* developed, Bayle increasingly attempted to make his readers think about this issue in terms of its immediate impact upon Huguenots who were being persecuted; and he began to point to the moral implications of Catholics' inaccurate depiction of the persecution. In the light of the persecutions, the nature of religious zeal was questioned: concern was raised about the things that people will do in the name of religion. It is significant that when Bayle discussed this issue, he did not just focus upon the zeal of Catholics, but rather questioned the influence of religion in general within the socio-political domain.

Chapter Three

La Roque's Gautereau and the Culmination of the Disputes

In the light of my discussion of the Ferrand and the Olaus disputes in the first two chapters of this thesis, it will be the work of this chapter to analyse the relationships of these two disputes, both to each other and to Bayle's *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. I will begin this chapter with a discussion of La Roque's review of Gautereau's text, the contextual reference point which instigated this examination of the relationship of Bayle's pamphlet both to this review and to the two disputes mentioned therein. I will then discuss the evolution of the main preoccupations of these disputes in order to gauge the influence of each on *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Finally, by means of a discussion of Bayle's own review of his pamphlet in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I will argue that these disputes with La Roque form part of the specific context for our understanding of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and comment upon how this new context affects our understanding of the pamphlet in his *œuvre*.

La Roque's choice of Gautereau's *La France toute Catholique* as the text with which to respond to Bayle's comments upon both disputes in his journal in 1686 is interesting. Gautereau's text, as we have seen, did not draw much attention when first published. Yet a year later, it was chosen by the *Journal des Sçavans* as a means of addressing the criticisms of one of the strongest apologists for the Huguenot cause. However, the publicity obtained from the *Journal des Sçavans* seems to have done as little as the change of printer and place of publication did for the circulation of Gautereau's text from this period onwards. According to Worldcat and the *Catalogue Collectif de France*, there are only three extant copies of the 1685 Paris edition, while there are eighteen extant editions from Lyon. Nevertheless, the fact that the text was now being sold in Paris might account for why it came to the attention of the Abbé de La Roque in late 1685 and was employed by him at this point.¹ Moreover, as will become evident, the subject matters in the chapters of

¹ Having not as yet examined the Paris edition, it is not clear whether it merely began to be sold in Paris with a new title page or whether there was an actual reprint of the text. However, in the 'Avertissement' of the Paris edition the reader is warned of the printing errors of the Lyon printing and stated that '[il y] trouvera toutes les fautes qui sont inévitables dans une impression précipitée et faite loin de l'auteur, et outre celles-là plusieurs autres encore dont le nombre est si grand qu'on n'en

Gautereau's book provided La Roque with the opportunity to incorporate both implicit and explicit responses to his two disputes with Bayle into the fabric of his review.

When introducing *La France toute catholique*, La Roque undermined the artifice upon which the conversation in the text took place. The conversations in the text were supposed to have taken place between Huguenots who, having been convinced of the error of their ways, then decided to print the conversations so that others would follow in their footsteps. Thus, the impetus to convert in the text was at least partially supposed to come from the fact of this image of France being based upon a real event and real people. La Roque's decision to undermine this artifice and allow for the possibility that the author was in fact a Catholic is curious. It could be understood as a response to Bayle's assertion, in his review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, that the texts written by Catholic authors had failed to bring about the conversions of Huguenots in France. In contrast here, La Roque insisted that, regardless of whether the explanation for the origin of the text was an artifice, 'il est certain que tout ce qu'elles [ces personnes] disent ou qu'on leur met en bouche, presse vivement les Protestans'.² Thus, La Roque was insisting that the arguments in the text were so strong that Protestants would find it difficult to refute them and consequently, to persist in their own confession.

Having defended the efficacy of Catholic texts in the religious controversy, La Roque then turned his attention to a condemnation of the Huguenots' reactions to the contemporary situation in France. He noted that the first dialogue in Gautereau's text responded 'aux libelles satyriques & seditieux' in several Huguenot texts, notably Jurieu's *Derniers efforts de l'innocence affligé* and *La Politique du Clergé de France*, and Jean-Paul de Cerdan's *L'Empereur & l'Empire trahis*.³ The dialogue was concerned to show the ill-advised nature of the Huguenots' responses to the events in France at the time. The criticism focused both upon their tone and content. In the dedicatory letter of Gautereau's text, Huguenot authors such as Jurieu were described as 'Ecrivains seditieux', who having seen 'les peuples disposez à donner au

a pas mis la moitié dans l'Errata...'. I would like to thank Marie-Hélène de La Mure, Conservateur à la Réserve de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève for providing me with this information.

² La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, Feb. 1686, art.iv, p.37.

³ Jurieu, *Derniers efforts de l'innocence* (The Hague: Arondeus, 1682); *La Politique du Clergé de France* (The Hague: Abraham Arondeus, 1681) and Jean-Paul de Cerdan, *L'Empereur & l'Empire trahis* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1682).

Roi le plaisir & la gloire de faire son Royaume tout Catholique, ont voulu les retenir dans le schisme par d'insolentes satires contre les Evêques, contre les Ministres de sa Majesté, & contre sa Majesté même'.⁴ Their responses were condemned as satirical, suggesting the defamatory nature of their comments. The main thrust of the criticism was against the bitterness of their writings and the outrages written against the government, the monarchy and, most shockingly of all, against the king himself. The emphasis of the Huguenots' criticisms, according to this account, was upon secular authorities in France, rather than against the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. La Roque's comments insisted that such bitterness was so clearly not the appropriate tone with which to treat one's government and king that it would force any Protestants 'qui ont tant soit peu de bon sens' to abandon their confession and even to seek to bring about its ruin.⁵ Thus, La Roque was suggesting that the Huguenot strategy of refutation was counter-productive for them. The response of Huguenots, by this account, was seditious, thereby casting them as a danger to the body politic in France. The charge of sedition was one of the justifications which Catholic authors provided for the king's intervention in the conversion process and for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes more generally.⁶ This attack, suggesting the inappropriate nature of the Huguenots' comments upon contemporary events, was in sharp contrast to Bayle's discussion of the topic. In the Ferrand dispute, Bayle took issue with Ferrand's moderate tone to defend or condone the use of violence in the conversion process. In the Olaus dispute, Bayle again condemned Catholics' style and insisted that the appropriate response to Catholic accounts of the forced conversions in France was 'emportement'; here the Huguenots' responses were denounced as seditious. Thus, La Roque's evocation of Gautereau's criticism of the Huguenot accounts of the conversions could be interpreted as a response to Bayle's comments upon this issue.

La Roque then turned to defend Catholics and Louis XIV against any accusations of wrong-doing by reaffirming his position on forced conversions as outlined in his review of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti* through his comments on Gautereau's text. The second dialogue in Gautereau's text was 'une

⁴ Gautereau, *La France toute Catholique*, I, ii [verso].

⁵ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, Feb. 1686, art. iv, p.38.

⁶ Maimbourg, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, [unpaginated *Epistre Dedicatoire*]; Gautereau, I, pp.42-60.

apologie sur les violences prétendues exercées dans le Poitou'.⁷ This is a reference to the efforts implemented by René de Marillac, *intendant* of the area, to convert the Huguenot population to Catholicism in 1681. In the spring of that year Marillac billeted soldiers on the Huguenots in his jurisdiction in order to obtain conversions.⁸ By all accounts, the numbers of conversions this prompted was spectacular.⁹ However, concerns about the methods employed were no less vociferous, with the result that the dragoon was ended in November 1681 and Marillac was replaced early in 1682.¹⁰ In the *Nouvelles Lettres de l'auteur de la Critique Générale*, Bayle had denied the sincerity of the conversions in Poitou on the basis of the force used to obtain them.¹¹ Despite the outcry at the time, Catholic authors, as we have seen in Bayle's reviews of their texts, were nonetheless reluctant to admit to the use of violence. Nonetheless, a number of Catholic authors wrote to defend the use of violence against heretics.¹² Gautereau, so La Roque noted, was one such author and his position was argued primarily *contra* Jurieu's comments in the *Politique du Clergé*.¹³ In the light of the fact that Gautereau had proved to the Huguenots 'le droit qu'on auroit de les punir par les rigueurs temporelles', La Roque insisted that he was not alone in his acceptance of forced conversions and consequently 'l'auteur des *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* aura à combattre plus d'un adversaire'.¹⁴ Noteworthy is the fact that Bayle's role in this dispute had once again been elided from the discussion of it in this review. This shifts the emphasis of the dispute away from being a direct attack against Bayle. With this comment, however, La Roque was adhering to his position defending the role of secular authority and punishments in the conversion process, which both he and Ferrand were seen to maintain in each of the disputes.

Moreover, La Roque's use of the phrase 'violences prétendues exercées dans le Poitou' evoked the contested nature of the accounts of those events. La Roque persisted in his rejection of the truth of Huguenot accounts of and comments upon the conversions not only in Poitou, but also those of more recent times, stating that

⁷ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, Feb. 1686, art. iv, p.40.

⁸ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.106, n.70.

⁹ Garriçon, *L'Edit de Nantes et sa Révocation*, p.217.

¹⁰ Bayle, p.106, n.70.

¹¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique Générale*, I, p.389.

¹² La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, Feb. 1686, art. iv, p.38.

¹³ Gautereau, *La France toute Catholique*, I, pp.156-92.

¹⁴ La Roque, p.38.

they were 'des faussetez' and 'des calomnies'.¹⁵ La Roque maintained that Protestant accounts of the conversions 'ne seront pas moins aisées à détruire, si on veut se donner la peine d'y répondre'.¹⁶ Thus, it was not so much a matter of Catholic authors being confounded by the arguments put forward by Protestant authors; rather, it was merely a question of deciding to make the effort. However, at the end of the text, La Roque seemed to have become more agitated about the Huguenot accounts of the conversions and directed his annoyance against the author of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*. La Roque's knowledge of the criticisms of himself in this text must have come from Bayle's review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*; La Roque had informed his readers, he had not yet seen the text and therefore, could not respond directly to the criticisms. In the meantime however, La Roque did have a message for the author of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*. He wrote:

il faut l'avertir charitablement & tous les autres qui parlent sans cesse de soldats, de rigueurs, de persecutions, qu'ils feroient sagement de ne pas trop remuer cette corde, de peur qu'on ne leur ferme la bouche, en leur faisant voir par l'aveu mesme de leurs propres Historiens, que leur Religion ne s'est établie que par les armes & par les cruautés qu'ils ont exercées contre les Catholiques.¹⁷

La Roque, while invoking fraternal charity, blatantly threatened Huguenot authors and told them to stop disseminating their accounts of the events or to suffer the consequences. To make the point of how embarrassing and damaging this could be to the reputation of Huguenots, he mentioned the crucifixion of priests in Montpellier as one of the many shocking acts of violence which Huguenots had committed. The fact that La Roque expands the scope of this warning to include 'tous les autres qui parlent sans cesse de soldats [etc.]', means that it could now be implicitly directed against Bayle.¹⁸ Although in his review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, Bayle elided his role in the dispute, he had nonetheless criticised Catholic authors for denying the use of force and he had also criticised Ferrand's description of the events in his review of the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Réformation»*. Nonetheless, Bayle's criticisms in either dispute appear to have had little impact upon La Roque other than perhaps to anger him. His reaction reflects

¹⁵ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, p.40.

¹⁶ La Roque, p.40.

¹⁷ La Roque, p.41.

¹⁸ La Roque, p.41.

the topicality and importance of the issue of the contested representations of contemporary events at the time.

Thus far in this review La Roque has discussed topics relevant to both disputes. He reaffirmed his support for the use of secular authorities and temporal punishments in order to get heretics to convert. Furthermore, he addressed the issue of what the appropriate response to contemporary events was when he criticised the Huguenots' 'libelles'. Finally, La Roque responded to the issue of the contested representations of the conversions by attempting to silence the Huguenots. His explicit comments upon these issues were directed against the discussion of them in the dispute which originated over the *journalistes'* respective reviews of the *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti* and especially against the author of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*. Bayle escaped explicit criticism from La Roque for his review of Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard's text. However, the Ferrand dispute did also get explicit mention, in a refutation of Bayle's comments in his review of Claude's *Sermon sur le Verset 14. du Chapitre 7. de l'Ecclesiaste*.

When discussing Gautereau's refutation of Jurieu's *Le Calvinisme & le Papisme mis en parallele*, La Roque informed his reader that Ferrand's refutation of the same text would be no less difficult to criticise than his *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques*. It is evident that La Roque's assertion here was prompted by Bayle's comments in his review of the *Sermon sur le Verset 14. du Chapitre 7. de l'Ecclesiaste* because La Roque noted in brackets next to it: 'quoique l'Auteur des Nouv. de la R. des L. nous avertisse que M. Claude pourra luy [Ferrand] faire sentir un jour qu'il n'entend point son S. Augustin sur la matière de l'Eglise'.¹⁹ Thus, La Roque and Bayle, in their respective journals, were clearly championing the intellectual might of their co-religionists in this dispute.

La Roque dedicated a lengthy section towards the end of the review to refuting the claims made in Bayle's review of the *Sermon sur le Verset 14. du Chapitre 7. de l'Ecclesiaste* that he refused to enter into discussion with Claude's friend. Having quoted Bayle, La Roque wrote that:

¹⁹ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, p.40

nous devons rendre ce témoignage à la vérité qu'il n'y a rien de plus faux que ce dernier point; Qu'il faut que M. Claude ait esté mal informé de la chose; Qu'on y entra véritablement en matière & qu'on la poussa mesme à bout.²⁰

Therefore, the Abbé de La Roque insisted that he did in fact pursue an in-depth discussion on the nature of the Church to its very limit with the messenger sent by Claude. He backed up this statement informing his readers that the passage of Saint Augustine which was relevant to their dispute was read in its entirety at the end of one of their discussions in front of many intelligent people. La Roque accused Claude of bad faith saying that the book, which he had given his friend in the hope that it would convince the Catholics of their error, did not actually discuss the relevant passage from Saint Augustine. Thus, in La Roque's review of Gautereau's text, the comments made by Bayle in the review of the *Sermon sur le Verset 14. du Chapitre 7. de l'Ecclesiaste*, were rebuked. These explicit comments upon the Ferrand dispute did not respond to any of Bayle's criticisms of Ferrand's style, nor did they address the issue of Saint Augustine's defence of forced conversions. Rather, they were focused upon refuting Claude's account of his exchange with La Roque through an intermediary in relation to the dispute between Claude and Ferrand on the issue of the nature of the Church.

Both the Ferrand and the Olaus disputes can be seen as relevant to Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* at various points of their development. Each dispute dealt with the issue of the legitimate means of converting, with particular reference to the justification of forced conversions, by appealing to the writings of Saint Augustine and various scriptural passages. Both disputes also commented upon the contested accounts and representations of the conversions in France. However, as I will now demonstrate, with the focuses of each of these disputes evolving, one became more relevant than the other to the genesis of Bayle's pamphlet. I will now briefly map the trajectories of the two disputes from their commencement as a prelude to discussing, in detail, the direction that each dispute took in the early months of 1686 with emphasis on their respective relationships to *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

The first two reviews of the Olaus dispute, which began in February 1685, established the initial topics of concern: the legitimacy and efficacy of violence and

²⁰ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, p.40.

other temporal pressures to obtain conversions, the nature of religious zeal and finally, the dynamic of exchanges in the religious controversy. During the lull in this dispute, the commencement of the Ferrand one in the autumn of 1685 marked a shift in emphasis in Bayle's concerns about the religious controversy. In his review of Ferrand's *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»* Bayle, unlike La Roque, was not concerned with the substantive, but largely theoretical dispute between Claude and Ferrand over the definition of the Church. Rather, Bayle's comments were focused upon the more immediately pressing issue of the Catholic depictions of the conversions in France. This shift in emphasis was reinforced by Bayle's imposition of an immediate reading upon his readers in his review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée* when the Olaus dispute was resurrected in December 1685. In that issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Bayle slightly shifted the focus of the dispute from the issue of whether the Gospel and the writings of Saint Augustine justified forced conversions. Bayle questioned the nature of religion, in particular religious zeal and its impact upon and relationship with the state. In particular, Bayle emphasised the issue of the contested representations of the conversions and the implications of them not only for the Huguenot refugees, but also in terms of the moral implications relating to the creation of a wholly Catholic France. Thus, at the end of 1685, from Bayle's perspective the issues, being discussed in the two disputes, had overlapped. However, the contributions to each dispute at the start of 1686 caused their respective emphases to diverge.

When Bayle resurrected the Ferrand dispute in his review of Claude's *Sermon sur le Verset 14. du Chapitre 7. de l'Ecclesiaste* in January 1686, he was no longer primarily concerned with criticising Ferrand's comments upon the forced conversions. The focus shifted to the issue of the reactions to contemporary events more generally. This was raised somewhat indirectly by Bayle's affirmation that the tone of the second sermon was appropriate to the events of the time. Nonetheless, Bayle's treatment of the Ferrand dispute, at this point, fell more in line with what had been La Roque's treatment of it all along: Bayle addressed the conflict between Claude and Ferrand over the definition of the Church, announcing Claude's intention and ability to refute Ferrand's position. La Roque's contribution to the Ferrand dispute in 1686 followed suit. As I have already discussed, in his review of Gautereau's *La France toute catholique* in February 1686, La Roque responded to

Claude's account of their exchange through a proxy in Paris and also reaffirmed his support of Ferrand's position. Moreover, in the *Journal des Sçavans* issue of 18 March 1686, La Roque returned to this issue again in a review of the second edition of Ferrand's *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques*. La Roque did not discuss Ferrand's text in any depth, but rather used the opportunity to take issue with Claude's claim that he could teach Ferrand how to properly understand Saint Augustine on the matter of the Church. La Roque deliberately misconstrued one of Bayle's comments from his review of Ferrand's text in the July issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, in order to suggest that in the light of Bayle's comment it was now up to Claude to show that Saint Augustine supported his position rather than Ferrand's and also to prove that he did not attribute to Saint Augustine things which he never said or thought. Finally, in that review La Roque provided a summary of the points of dispute between Claude and Ferrand so that his readers might judge the matter for themselves. Claude's immediate response to these reviews was not reported in Bayle's journal. However, having been sent a copy of La Roque's journal by Bayle, Claude replied: 'L'abbé de la R[oque] et Ferrand sont deux fripons, et deux hommes de neant'.²¹ In *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of April 1686, Bayle announced his intention to bow out of this dispute between Claude and La Roque, noting that Claude 'fera voir lui-même ce qu'il doit répondre à ce qu'on a publié sur son sujet en faveur de M.Ferrand dans quelques-uns des Journaux de cette année'.²² Thus, the substance of the Ferrand dispute at the start of 1686 evolved firmly away from issues which were dealt with in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

In terms of its relevance for the context of the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* the Ferrand dispute became less important as it progressed in 1686. Nonetheless, analysing this dispute along with the Olaus dispute contributed to our insight into the genesis of Bayle's pamphlet in a number of ways. Firstly, the overlap in the two disputes highlighted that the Ferrand dispute was kept alive between Bayle and La Roque because of the issue of forced conversions. Secondly, the overlap in these disputes also pointed to the shift in Bayle's concerns about the contested representations of the events in France. Finally, following this dispute raised other topics worthy of further investigation. To my knowledge there

²¹ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter from Jean Claude to Pierre Bayle dated 28 Mar., 1686, p.344.

²² Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, April 1686, art., viii, pp.473-475.

has, as yet, been no study done of the dispute between Ferrand and Claude. An examination of this could prove illuminating, not only in terms of their interaction and modes of criticism, but also as a case study for an inter-confessional dispute in this period about the nature or characteristics of the true Church. Furthermore, an analysis of the Claude-Ferrand dispute, which pays particular attention to the role of the *journalistes* in facilitating and even perpetuating these disputes along confessional lines, could help to elucidate further the extent to which confessional bias infringed upon the domain of the Republic of Letters and also upon Bayle and La Roque.

The contributions from both Bayle and La Roque to the Olaus dispute, on the other hand, remained firmly tied to issues which would be raised in Bayle's pamphlet. La Roque's review of Gautereau's *La France toute catholique* in the *Journal des Sçavans* issue of 17 February 1686 addressed the issues of legitimacy of forced conversions. It also condemned the Huguenot response to contemporary events and ultimately gave increased impetus to the contested representations of the conversions in France because of his direct threat to Huguenot authors at the end of his review. Likewise, in the February 1686 issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, when addressing the criticisms of his comments in his review of the *Dialogues entre Photin et Irénée*, Bayle returned to and expanded upon the issue of the Catholic characterisation of the conversions as non-violent. The issue of the appropriate reaction to the prevaricating rhetoric of the Catholics was raised as a prominent issue, which focused upon the moral implications of sanctioning such bad faith. Bayle also responded to La Roque's comments in the Olaus dispute, specifically to his threat against Huguenot authors. Bayle's response to La Roque's review of Gautereau's text was two-fold. On 22 March 1686 *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique sous le Règne de Louis le Grand* came off the presses. Slightly later in the month, the publication of this text was announced by an article in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. In reference to both of these texts, I will examine the relationship between the Olaus dispute and Bayle's pamphlet.

Bayle's review of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* is an important source in terms of what it tells us about the relationships to the pamphlet of these disputes with La Roque and also Gautereau's text. In the review, no explicit reference was made to Gautereau's text, as one might have expected, given Bayle's appropriation of its title. This

suggests that Bayle's pamphlet was not intended to function as a direct response to Gautereau's text. On the other hand, Bayle's discussion of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* does point toward an overlap in the substantive concerns of his pamphlet and his disputes with La Roque, particularly in terms of the contested depictions of contemporary events.

Bayle opened his review by recounting the artifice under which *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was printed, as outlined in the pamphlet's note from the *Libraire au Lecteur*. This note informed the readers that a Catholic missionary had given these letters to the printer, with the intention that they serve as 'une preuve de l'emportement des Hérétiques'.²³ Thus, the issue of the appropriate reaction to contemporary events is raised. Bayle, in his discussion of Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand*, had argued that 'emportement' was the appropriate and natural reaction to Catholic authors' description of the conversions as non-violent. Bayle's summary of the epistolary format of the text focused the readers' attention upon the stylistic differences in each letter, as was also done in the note from the *Libraire au Lecteur* at the start of the pamphlet.

In the review, the Catholic canon's letter was described as being 'pleine de civilité, & de marques de charité quoi qu'on l'ait écrite après avoir reçu la seconde Lettre de ce Recueil, laquelle est des plus desobligeants'.²⁴ This description of the Catholic canon's style could almost be interpreted as praise. However, two factors suggest that it was in fact some form of veiled criticism. The first is that the Catholic canon's letter was described as being full of the marks or signs of charity rather than actual charity. Bayle's phrasing is thus suggestive of a lack of correlation between the style of the Catholic canon's letter and his true motivation or his behaviour. This criticism is reminiscent of that levelled against Ferrand for his use of moderate language when defending violence against the Huguenots. Moreover, Bayle's qualification of the context of the Catholic canon's letter suggests that the civility he employed was not the appropriate reaction. In the context of the invective of the first Huguenot letter, this comment could suggest that an angry response from the canon would be the natural, appropriate response. Bayle's criticism of the Catholic canon's reaction becomes fully apparent in his pre-emptive defence of the first Huguenot's

²³ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Mar. 1686, cat. iii, p.345.

²⁴ Bayle, p.345.

letter. Echoing the comments of the second Huguenot in his pamphlet, Bayle noted the stylistic criticisms that he expected would be levelled against the first Huguenot:

On y [in the first Huguenot letter] trouvera sans doute trop de feu, & trop d'essor d'imagination, mais la beauté des pensées, & le fondement solide qu'elles ont quant à la substance du fait, feront excuser apparemment ce qui peut y être d'excessif.²⁵

He defended the first Huguenot's use of passionate language, commenting on the beauty of his thoughts, which suggested the presence of clarity and precision in his writing. Bayle added another dimension to his defence of the first Huguenot's style, arguing that the truth and accuracy of his substantive claims justify his use of passionate or angry language.²⁶ Consequently, Bayle informed his readers that: 'Assurément on y dit aux Convertisseurs de France de quoi sentir une vive confusion, si leur métier souffroit qu'ils fussent sensibles à quelque chose'.²⁷ His criticism of the Catholic canon's letter culminated in this comment. His comment harks back to his review of Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand* where he argued that the sensibility and moral compass of the Catholic missionaries were so hardened that they were no longer susceptible to the complaints, sufferings and arguments of others. Thus, the inappropriate tone of the Catholic canon's letter was indicative of his imperviousness. More generally, this raises the question as to whether attempting dialogue with Catholics was anything short of futile, considering that their imperviousness would appear to manifest itself as intransigence. As I noted in my discussions of the two disputes, the bias inherent in the religious controversy points towards another possible explanation for the rhetorical structure of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, which I will examine in detail in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

Bayle's attention then turned to the final letter in his pamphlet, and addressed both its style and its substantive contributions to the debates with La Roque. Bayle described the second Huguenot letter saying: 'L'Auteur y parle d'un ton modéré & se contente de donner honnêtement quelques avis & de faire quelques questions'.²⁸ The tone and strategy of the second Huguenot letter thus differed from that of the first Huguenot. Nonetheless, Bayle noted that the second Huguenot 'ne laisse pas de

²⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Mar. 1686, cat. iii, p.345.

²⁶ I will discuss the substantive rhetorical arguments that are at issue here in a later chapter.

²⁷ Bayle, p.345.

²⁸ Bayle, p.345.

piquer en quelques endroits'.²⁹ Having set up the contrast between the styles of the two Huguenot letters, Bayle seems to suggest that the second Huguenot agreed with the Catholic canon in his criticism of the tone of the first Huguenot letter. Bayle wrote: 'Il avouë que le Chanoine a pû *s'armer de quelques signes de Croix* en lisant ce qu'on lui avoit écrit'.³⁰ The placement of this comment nonetheless rendered it ambiguous: it is placed immediately after the stylistic assessment of the second Huguenot letter, but immediately before Bayle's presentation of one of the questions which the second Huguenot put to the Catholic canon in the course of his letter. Bayle wrote that one of the questions which the second Huguenot addressed was:

s'il est vrai que les Ecrivains de France se trouvent dans un extrême embarras, ne sçachant s'ils continuëront de nier les violences, ce qui leur a déjà fait tomber une horrible grêle sur le dos, ou s'ils les avouëront, en ajoûtant que ce n'est pas aux Hérétiques à toucher la corde des violences, qu'on se souvient assez des leurs, & qu'en tout cas on n'auroit usé que de represailles.³¹

The concern of the second Huguenot then is whether Catholic authors would finally utter the 'terrible *Oüi*', admitting to the use of force to obtain conversions. The awkward situation in which the second Huguenot paints the Catholic authors could be why he asserted that the Catholic canon would need to bless himself. Thus, the second Huguenot's validation of the Catholic canon's action could be in reference to either concern. Of more significance was the fact that an explicit reference was made in this remark to La Roque's threat against Huguenot authors in his review of Gautereau's *La France toute catholique*. Although La Roque did not suggest that the Huguenots would use Catholics' admission of the forced conversions as an excuse for reprisals against them, Bayle's comment here echoed his phrasing: 'ce n'est pas aux Hérétiques à toucher la corde des violences'. Moreover, Bayle's comment repeats La Roque's threat to expose Huguenots' use of violence in the past. Thus, a link was established in this review between Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and his dispute with La Roque. However, the link between the Olaus dispute and Bayle's pamphlet cannot be understood in any simple way. Before elaborating further on this, I think it is necessary to discuss the intertextual links in the review of the pamphlet to the *Commentaire Philosophique*.

²⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Mar. 1686, cat. iii, pp.345-6.

³⁰ Bayle, p.346.

³¹ Bayle, p.346.

Bayle noted that the second Huguenot urged Catholics to admit to the use of force, and to worry about the possible repercussions afterwards. He then remarked that in the pamphlet the second Huguenot promised the appearance of the *Commentaire Philosophique*, 'qui montrera d'une manière invincible la nécessité de la tolerance, & qui mettra en pièces toutes les raisons de S. Augustin'.³² As I noted in the introduction, Jean-Michel Gros has argued, on the basis of this cross-referencing between *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique* in the pamphlet, in the review of it in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, and in the preface to the *Commentaire Philosophique* that it was Bayle's intention to link the pamphlet with the *Commentaire Philosophique*.³³ Thus, Gros argues that these two texts were intended to be read as a pair-text. Considered in the light of the context of Bayle's two disputes with La Roque, Gros's claim that the texts were linked gains increased legitimacy. It is possible, as Gros has observed, that Bayle's last two comments in the review point towards the implied relationship between *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique*. It is possible that Catholics were supposed to draw the conclusion that they should not fear reprisals from the Huguenots because, by virtue of the arguments in the *Commentaire Philosophique*, it would become apparent that toleration was clearly advocated by Scripture. The fact that Bayle did not advocate toleration of Catholics in the *Commentaire Philosophique* because of their intolerance works against this suggestion. Bayle's comments in this review would then suggest that each of the texts addressed different emphases in his disputes with La Roque: *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* addressed the issue of the contested representations of contemporary events in France and the moral implications of these; while the *Commentaire Philosophique* focused upon whether the use of force was legitimate in the conversion process. It is possible then that, in the pair-text, the purpose of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* could have been to demonstrate the immorality of the forced conversions and also to point out the consequences for a wholly Catholic France being based upon such a morality. The purpose of the *Commentaire Philosophique*, then, would be to show the way forward from this situation; through its defence of religious toleration it pointed to the viability of a plural, secular society.

³² Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Mar. 1686, cat. iii, p.346.

³³ Gros, 'Le parabole de la zizanie chez Pierre Bayle', pp.297-8.

The intertextual references in the review of the pamphlet are important for three reasons. Firstly, it suggests that the context of Bayle's disputes with La Roque is relevant not just to our understanding of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, but also to the genesis of the *Commentaire Philosophique*. This points to the fact that a re-examination of the *Commentaire Philosophique* in the light of this context could prove productive. Secondly, this preliminary understanding of the purpose of both the pamphlet and the *Commentaire Philosophique* that this review points to forms a basis from which to reconsider both the rhetorical structure and substantive claims in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. This will be the work of the second section of this thesis. Thirdly, these two avenues of research pave the way towards a re-consideration of the status of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in Bayle's *œuvre*.

To conclude the first section of this thesis, the purpose of which was to offer a recontextualisation of Bayle's pamphlet, I will discuss the nature of the relationships of the contextual markers analysed in these three chapters to *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

In his review of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, Bayle did not explicitly name La Roque or his review of Gautereau's text, although he did make an oblique reference to La Roque's threat to Huguenot authors. This attempt to efface, to some extent, the interpersonal relationship behind the substantive issues was consistent with his strategy throughout the two disputes that I have discussed. Various factors in Bayle's pamphlet and in his later comments upon it further distanced *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* from the specific context of the Olaus dispute. Bayle's desire to do this is evident in the fact, first and foremost, that he issued his response in the form of an anonymously published pamphlet, whereby he removed himself from the context of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and removed the dispute from the domain of the Republic of Letters.³⁴ Secondly, an artifice was provided at the start of the pamphlet and repeated in Bayle's review of it to explain why these letters were being printed and the intention in printing them.³⁵ While this can of course be understood as an attempt to

³⁴ Mori discussed the various strategies Bayle employed to hide himself in his own text. See *Bayle philosophe*, pp.15-6.

³⁵ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique*, p.31.

circumvent the censorship in absolutist France, it nonetheless hides from the reader the specific circumstances which prompted Bayle to write the pamphlet. Thirdly, he made no reference whatsoever to his disputant in the text of his pamphlet. Fourthly, the arguments in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* are directed more generally against the deviations from the morality of the Gospel by Catholics in France which had given rise to and legitimised the contemporary situation. Finally, Bayle's comments upon his pamphlet in the following month points towards his effort to distance *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* from the specific context of the Olaus dispute. Bayle did this in a review which was entitled 'Considérations sur l'état de ceux qui sont tombez' of the *Lettres à l'Eglise de ***** sur sa chute*, in the April 1686 issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Bayle noted that like the author of these letters, 'Le petit livre [...] *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, avoit déjà furieusement crié contre M. Varillas' for his claim that 'on n'a employé que les voyes de la douceur'.³⁶ This comment points to an *ad hominem* attack against Varillas in Bayle's pamphlet, thereby shifting the emphasis away from the row with La Roque and also from being a response to Gautereau's text. Bayle also enumerated some of the other arguments in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* but did not reference, even implicitly, the Olaus dispute.³⁷ Rather, the arguments cited point towards the more general scope of the arguments in Bayle's pamphlet. All these factors point to a concerted effort on his part to transcend the specific context of his disputes with La Roque in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and to attempt to impose a more general reading context upon the readers of his pamphlet. Bayle did not want his readers to construe *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* as a direct response to or attack upon La Roque or indeed Gautereau. I commented upon some methodological considerations raised by this argument in the introduction to my thesis.³⁸ The question which faces us now is how is the relationship between Bayle's pamphlet and these two contextual markers to be understood?

I would argue that the explanation of Pierre Des Maizeaux, Bayle's biographer, points in the right direction. Des Maizeaux wrote that having made a number of comments upon the persecutions in his journal:

³⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Feb.1686, art. viii, pp.455-6.

³⁷ Bayle, pp.456-7.

³⁸ See Introduction, pp.21-2.

at last, the sight of so much injustice, so many cruelties and frauds, put him quite out of patience: being teized with an infinite number of books wherein nothing was talked of but the immortal Glory which Lewis the Great had acquired by destroying the Heresty, and rendering *France entirely Catholic*, he published in the month of March 1686, a little book entitled, *A Character of France entirely Catholic under the reign of Lewis le Grand*.³⁹

Des Maizeaux then placed Bayle's pamphlet in the general of the religious context and suggested that he ran out of patience. I would suggest that the reason why Bayle ran out of patience was because of La Roque's threat against Huguenot authors in his review of Gautereau's text. The Olaus dispute as a whole then did not alone directly culminate in Bayle's writing of the pamphlet, rather La Roque's threat was the spark which precipitated Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* against all of the prevarication of Catholic authors at the time, including Gautereau. This would explain Bayle's appropriation of the title of Gautereau's text for his pamphlet. Nonetheless, I do think that his disputes with La Roque did influence, in some more particular way, Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique*, which I will investigate further in my discussion of the rhetorical structure of the pamphlet.⁴⁰

In the chapters of the first section of this thesis, I have opened up the context of Bayle's pamphlet as a means of explaining the relationship between Bayle's pamphlet and Gautereau's text. In the light of La Roque's review of Gautereau's text in the month prior to the publication of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, I examined two disputes that Bayle was having with La Roque which were mentioned in that review. The process of tracing these disputes was productive for four significant reasons. Firstly, it showed that an extension of the context within which Bayle's pamphlet has been understood in scholarship was necessary and could prove productive in terms of our understanding of both how and why he wrote *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Secondly, tracing the detail of these disputes gave us an insight into the impact of the religious controversy upon the dynamic of the relationship between these two *journalistes* in the Republic of Letters. Confessional allegiances and friendships were seen to play a significant role in the exchanges between Bayle and La Roque in respect of the writings of their respective co-religionists. Documenting these disputes also made clear the

³⁹ Pierre Des Maizeaux, 'The Life of Mr Bayle', *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr Peter Bayle* (London, 1734), I, p.xxv.

⁴⁰ See ch.5, pp.152-67.

prevalence of bias and intransigence in the religious controversy and its detrimental impact upon intellectual exchanges. Thirdly, this recontextualisation enabled me to elucidate two new contexts for our understanding, not just of Bayle's pamphlet, but also of the *Commentaire Philosophique*, thereby providing a means of re-assessing both the relationship of these two texts to each other and also of the place of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in Bayle's *œuvre*. Fourthly, tracing the development of the disputes enabled me to track the evolution of Bayle's preoccupations, strategy and tone in the religious controversy in the months surrounding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and in the lead-up to his writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. The elucidation that this recontextualisation provided in terms of all these areas has established a basis from which to approach the re-interpretation of the substantive claims and the rhetorical structure of the pamphlet in the second section of this thesis. It will be the work of the next section of this thesis to examine, in further detail, whether the understanding of the relationship between *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique* that is suggested by this recontextualisation can be given further credence by an analysis of the rhetorical structure of and the substantive claims in the pamphlet.

Chapter Four

Understanding the Pamphlet in its Context: Contemporary Reception

Before embarking upon an examination of the epistolary format and substantive claims of the pamphlet in the second section of the thesis, I want to analyse how *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* functioned as a response to the context which I have detailed in the first three chapters of this thesis. I do not propose at this point to analyse the continuation of all of the substantive debates as addressed in the pamphlet, but rather I want to examine how *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was understood by Bayle's contemporaries to function within the dynamic of religious controversy. The issues raised by the readings of and reactions of his contemporaries to *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* help to define some of the questions which need to be answered in order to understand both why Bayle wrote this pamphlet and why wrote it the way he did. It is these questions that I will address in the second section of this thesis.

The sources from which I have drawn to discuss the reception of the pamphlet were mostly not written with *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* as their primary focus, but rather the discussion of Bayle's pamphlet is incidental or is merely a necessary component of an account of the Baylean corpus. The sources from which I will draw in my discussion cover a period of approximately a century after the writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and are from both Protestant and Catholic authors. Examining sources over a long time scale provides the opportunity to determine whether and how the understanding of Bayle's pamphlet developed over time. Thus far there has been no extensive collation of sources pertaining to the reception of Bayle's pamphlet. Despite the fact that the sources that I present are drawn from the writings of both Protestants and Catholics, none of their comments suggest that they were kind of 'complicit' readers who, as I discussed in the introduction, could decipher Bayle's '*écriture codée*'.¹ The comments of these readers are useful in two respects. Firstly, an analysis of their comments helps to create a picture of how *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was read by non-complicit readers. Secondly, the comments of these

¹ See Introduction, pp.17-20.

readers pointed to features of the pamphlet or to questions about Bayle's writing of it which, in the light of the context established for it in the opening chapters of the thesis, require further explanation. I will examine the discussions of Bayle's pamphlet in chronological order, beginning with the most immediate reaction to it.

In a letter to Bayle, dated 29 March 1686, Pierre Rainssant provides the earliest comments upon *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* that have thus far been uncovered. Rainssant's reaction is of particular interest not just because of its immediacy, but for other reasons also. Firstly, Rainssant was a Catholic who was at the court of Louis XIV. Secondly, Bayle solicited this response himself. In the letter, Rainssant referred to Bayle's pamphlet as 'le livre que vous m'avez envoyé'.² The accompanying note or letter is presumably lost and is not referred to in the *Correspondance*. Although the note accompanying his pamphlet is not extant, it is possible to conjecture as to some of the content from Rainssant's comments in his reply to Bayle. Rainssant wrote that: 'On m'a dit qu'on vous a envoyé un livre, que vous trouverez plus supportable que celui là'.³ This would suggest that Bayle had criticised his own pamphlet. He was in the habit of sending his writings to his friends, soliciting their opinions, while purposefully deceiving them as to the author of the text in order that their opinions would not be influenced by their friendship for him.⁴ It is possible that, in this instance, he went a step further and criticized his own writing in order to ensure that his friend was deceived as to the author of the pamphlet. His decision to send his pamphlet to Rainssant is interesting; it suggests that he wanted to gauge the reception of the pamphlet from a source who was close to the political and cultural hub of Louis XIV's France, but who was not essentially intolerant in that Rainssant enthusiastically engaged in correspondence with Bayle, despite the fact that he was a Huguenot.

Rainssant's comments on *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* point both to an approach to reading the pamphlet and to an understanding of how it was received by Bayle's contemporaries, which would remain largely consistent even across the confessional divide over the following years. As will become evident from my discussion of Rainssant's comment, this understanding of the pamphlet can be categorised into three main points. As Rainssant's comments about the pamphlet

² Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter from Pierre Rainssant to Bayle dated Court 29 Mar., 1686, pp.346-7. See also p.347, n.2.

³ Bayle, pp.346.

⁴ Bost, *Pierre Bayle*, pp.194-5.

are not well-known and are relatively short, I will quote them *in extenso* before I discuss them:

J'ay receu le livre que vous m'avez envoyé, et j'en ay en mesme temps parcouru une bonne partie. On voit trop que l'auteur est en colere, *Uritur et loquitur*. A son compte, par ce qu'on a consenty, ou plustost qu'on a veu chasser les reforméz sans qu'on s'en soit esmeu, on est mal honneste, on est infame et il diroit à chacun de nous autres *es impudicus, es vorax, es helluo!*⁵

The first feature of the contemporary reception which Rainssant's comments point to is that Bayle's pamphlet was understood as an attack upon all Catholics in France. He summarized the main thrust of the pamphlet's argument when he wrote that, according to the author of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*: 'par ce qu'on a consenty, ou plustost qu'on a veu chasser les reforméz sans qu'on s'en soit esmeu, on est mal honneste, on est infame et il diroit à chacun de nous autres *es impudicus, es vorax, es helluo!*'⁶ Rainssant regularly cited ancient authors in his writings when providing his opinion on a given subject. The Latin quotation is from an invective piece by Catullus which attacks Julius Caesar and his advisor Mamurra.⁷ As is pointed out in the notes to this letter, Rainssant did not accurately quote Catullus, in which 'aleo' is written instead of 'helluo'. It seems likely that he purposefully altered the quotation to better correlate with accusations made against Catholics in the first Huguenot's letter: 'aleo' is a gambler, whereas 'helluo' is a glutton or squanderer. For Rainssant then, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was very much an exercise in blaming Catholics for the persecutions or for the inaction of those who looked on without objecting to them.

Secondly, Rainssant characterised the tone of the pamphlet as angry invective. He objected to the angry tone of the author of the pamphlet, employing another quotation from a poem by Catullus. He wrote: 'On voit trop que l'auteur est en colere, *Uritur et loquitur*'.⁸ The fact that the author of the pamphlet seemed to be overcome with anger seemed to Rainssant a sufficient reason to disregard the substantive claims therein. He does not give any indication in his letter that the pamphlet actually prompted him to any consideration of the actions taken against the Huguenots. However, this cannot be understood simply as obtuse bias from a Catholic in the face of such criticism. In a letter to Bayle in April 1686, it is clear

⁵ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter from Pierre Rainssant to Bayle dated Court 29 Mar., 1686, p.346.

⁶ Bayle, p.346. See Gaius Valerius Catullus, *Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. by F.W. Cornish (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), XXIX, pp.32-5.

⁷ Catullus, *Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris*, pp.160-1.

⁸ Bayle, pp.346.

that Rainssant was, to some extent, amenable to the writings of Protestant authors about the persecutions. Having criticized the 'conjectures' of a text, which is presumed to be Jurieu's *L'Accomplissement des prophéties*, Rainssant told Bayle that: 'J'attens le livre de Mr Claude, comme quelque chose de plus reel'.⁹ Rainssant here is thought to have been referring to Claude's as yet unpublished *Plaintes des Protestans cruellement opprimez dans le Royaume de France*.¹⁰ I do not wish to overstate the significance of Rainssant's comment here. It could simply be intended to express Rainssant's hope that Claude could produce something better than Jurieu had done. However, it could also point to some willingness on Rainssant's part to take into consideration some of the more restrained comments by Huguenot authors in relation to contemporary events. This would suggest that both the tone and the substantive claims made in Bayle's pamphlet went a step too far in terms of what Rainssant would have been amenable to taking into consideration. Thus, the tone or style of the first Huguenot letter was more than off-putting for a contemporary reader: these considerations provoked him to completely disregard the substantive claims of the pamphlet.

The above quotation also points to the final feature of the contemporary reception of Bayle's pamphlet which is that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was understood as a monologic text, identified with the voice of the first Huguenot letter. Rainssant does not distinguish between the voice of the author and the voices of the letter-writers. In his case, this reading of the pamphlet could be explained by the fact that he admitted, employing a standard topos, that he had not fully read the book before writing to Bayle, but that he had 'parcouru une bonne partie'.¹¹ Rainssant's summary of the content of Bayle's pamphlet could have come from the first few pages of the first Huguenot letter. It would be interesting to know how far he had managed to read. His characterization of the author of the text as angry could be explained by the fact that he had not read the second Huguenot letter. If he did flick through the whole text then he either considered the voice of the angry Huguenot to be more dominant, or possibly that he thought that it was merely intended to make the claims of the irate Huguenot more appealing and consequently disregarded it. Thus, the epistolary format does not seem to have impacted upon La

⁹ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter from Pierre Rainssant to Bayle dated Court 20 Apr., 1686, p.363, n.1, p.362.

¹⁰ Bayle, p.363, n.5.

¹¹ Bayle, p.346.

Roque's understanding of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*: he understood Bayle's pamphlet as a monologic text in which the voice of the first Huguenot letter is aired. It is interesting to consider his understanding of the pamphlet in the light of the artifice provided for its publication in the note from the *Libraire au Lecteur*, which was to expose 'l'esprit de l'Hérésie qui n'inspire que l'emportement'.¹² The publishing of these letters both did and did not function according to the intention presented here. It worked in that Rainssant comprehended the pamphlet as the effect of the Huguenot's *emportement*. However, it did not work in that the overall effect of the pamphlet was understood as an attack upon the Catholics rather than as an exposition of the spirit of the Huguenots.

Ultimately then, Rainssant comprehended *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* as an unrestrained and angry Huguenot invective against Catholics in France, in which the interplay between the three letters did not impinge upon his interpretative process. It is noteworthy here that, in the light of his opinion on Bayle's pamphlet, there is no sign that Rainssant intended halting or altering his relationship with Bayle over the angry tone and assertions of blame in the pamphlet. It is undoubtedly possible that Rainssant had not discovered the identity of the author of the pamphlet, but if he did then it would provide an interesting insight into the functioning of the Republic of Letters. Throughout the remainder of his letter, the spirit of cooperation between Catholic and Protestant intellectuals is evident. Even high profile Catholics (though perhaps *nouveaux convertis* might be a more appropriate term in this instance), such as Paul Pellisson, were sending books via Rainssant to Bayle, or acquiring ones that he had requested to be sent on.¹³ This kind of co-operation among intellectuals across religious and national divides was very much the foundation of the functioning of the Republic of Letters on a practical level. Thus, either Rainssant had not guessed that Bayle was the author of the text, or perhaps the angry tone (while perhaps displeasing for a Catholic to be faced with) was not inconsonant with the lived reality, if not the ideals, values and principles of the Republic of Letters.

However, a letter from another of Bayle's correspondents indicates that his discussion of the persecutions in France was liable to create difficulties for him in

¹² Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.31.

¹³ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter from Pierre Rainssant to Bayle dated Court 29 Mar., 1686, p.347.

his role as *journaliste* in the Republic of Letters. Dethlev Cluver (1645-1708), a mathematician and member of the Royal Society, provides an insight into the reception in England of Bayle's discussion of the dragoons in the months following the publication of the pamphlet. In a letter dated 7 June 1686, Cluver informed Bayle that there was a rumour in London that 'vos *Nouvelles* estoient aneanties, ou pour le moins qu'on ne pouvoit pas les debiter d'avantage, à cause que votre plume avoit si extreme[me]nt noircy la croisade dragonne'.¹⁴ According to Cluver the rumour was negated by the fact that the April issue of his journal had finally arrived. The editors of Bayle's correspondence suggest that Cluver's comments refer to a punishment for his writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.¹⁵ However, as is evident from my contextualisation of the pamphlet, in his journal Bayle also severely criticised the dragoons, even if, his comments in this format did not have the same effect as the sustained assault of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. This factor, in conjunction with the fact that Cluver advised Bayle to reign in his criticisms (indicative of the fact that Cluver saw this as on-going), suggests that Bayle's comments in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* could also have been the cause of the rumour. Regardless of what sparked the rumour, it is evident from the very fact that there was a rumour that his comments were understood to be doing significant damage to the image propagated about the conversions of the Huguenots even outside of France. So much so in fact that Cluver advised Bayle to temper his comments. His fear was prompted by the fate of Claude's *Plaintes des Protestans* in England. Cluver wrote:

j'ay cru necessaire de vous advertir, de ne railler pas trop ces apôtres avec de[s] arquebuses, parceque ils tireront encore sur vous, et le feu qu'on a allumé icy pour bruler par main de bourreau *Les Plaintes des protestans* en France vous pourra servir de prevue pour cela.¹⁶

Taking into account Robin Gwynn's work on the treatment of the Huguenots in England, it seems likely that the burning of Claude's text was also prompted by domestic policy under James II, which prohibited accounts of the persecutions to be printed in an effort to limit the amount of assistance that would be given to the exiled Huguenots.¹⁷ From Cluver's warning, then, it is evident that in the post-

¹⁴ Bayle, *Correspondance*, VI, Letter from Dethlev Cluver to Bayle dated London 7 June, 1686, p.427.

¹⁵ Bayle, p.428, n.1.

¹⁶ Bayle, p.427.

¹⁷ Robin D. Gwynn, 'James II in the Light of His Treatment of Huguenot Refugees in England, 1685-1686', *The English Historical Review*, 92, 1977, 820-33, pp.831, 833.

Revocation era Bayle's critique of the treatment of Huguenots in France was thought by his immediate contemporaries to be particularly dangerous.

These two letters are the only sources that I have found which comment upon the pamphlet and were written close to its publication. The next range of sources that I have found were written more than twenty years after the publication of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. The first of these sources was Henri Philippe de Limiers's (16??-1725) *Histoire du Regne de Louis XIV* (1718). Limiers's comments suggest that Bayle's pamphlet was thought to have been effective in its condemnation of the forced conversions.¹⁸ In a section in which Limiers discussed the negative consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the inefficacy of forced conversions and the disbelief of the rest of Europe at the accounts of the soft and gentle means used to obtain them, he comments that: 'Ce seroit peut-être ici le lieu de faire voir avec un célèbre Auteur, ce que c'étoit que *la France toute Catholique sous le Regne de Louis XIV*'.¹⁹ Authorship of the text is attributed to Bayle in a marginal note. With this statement, Limiers was aligning his point of view with that which was expressed by Bayle in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. It is interesting, given the fact that he viewed the tone of the pamphlet as angry, that Limiers chose to associate himself with the pamphlet, rather than with any of Bayle's other writings on the subject. Indeed, Leffler notes that Huguenot historians, such as Limiers, appreciated not only ancient historians, but also contemporary historians, among whom they considered Bayle to be 'an authority on the proper tone of the historian'.²⁰ Whether or not they would have included Bayle's pamphlet as an example of this is less certain, since Limiers did not comment upon its tone. Nonetheless, in terms of the contemporary reception of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, his comments indicate three things. Firstly, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* must have been well-known given the fact that Limiers did not see the necessity of elaborating further on the views expounded in Bayle's pamphlet. The second is that Bayle's pamphlet was understood to be responding primarily to the fact that the use of force as a method for converting would only lead to false conversions and hypocrisy. Thirdly, the fact that Limiers

¹⁸ Henri Philippe De Limiers, *Histoire du Regne de Louis XIV*, 2nd ed., VII (Amsterdam, 1718), p.53. See also Phyllis K. Leffler, 'French Historians and the Challenge to Louis XIV's Absolutism', *French Historical Studies*, 14, 1985, 1-22, pp.1, 16.

¹⁹ Limiers, *Histoire du Regne de Louis XIV*, 2ed, VII, p.53.

²⁰ Leffler, 'French Historians and the Challenge to Louis XIV's Absolutism', p.16.

evoked *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* to condemn the hypocrisy of Catholics suggests that Bayle's pamphlet must, to some extent, by Limiers at least, to have been thought to have succeeded in its aim.

It seems likely that David Durand (1680-1763), a prominent Huguenot minister and historian, would have disapproved of Limiers's appeal to Bayle's pamphlet. Durand was at one time a friend of Bayle, but their friendship waned when Durand, like many other Huguenot ministers in the early eighteenth century became convinced that Bayle was not a Christian fideist, but rather was propagating philosophical atheism.²¹ The question of Bayle's pamphlet was raised in the *Continuation de l'Histoire du X^{vi} Siècle* when Durand criticized how Bayle had dealt with Maimbourg's claim that he had seen ten volumes *in-folio* 'composez de la compilation de ces prétendus libelles'.²² Durand was emphatic that Bayle should have denied the very existence of such pamphlets right up until the point that it was proven by 'de Juges experts' that the *libelles* 'sont venus de nous [the Huguenots]; qu'ils ont eu l'approbation de tout le corps; que les Princes & les Politiques, que les Catholiques memes n'y ont point eu de part'.²³ Durand further insisted that Bayle should have rejected the claim that:

ces écrits véhéments & irreguliers quant à la forme, ne sont point légitimes & bien-fondez quant à la matiere, tels que la Préface du *Commentaire Philosophique*, par exemple, & *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique sous le regne de Louis XIV*[.]²⁴

Durand was thus echoing Bayle's own defence of these writings in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.²⁵ Durand ends his comments upon Bayle's strategy by defending the Huguenot position in the religious controversy saying 'voilà proprement de quoi il s'agit entre lui & nous'.²⁶ The 'nous' here is curious. Bayle is cast out on his own, with Durand presumably aligning himself with the larger group of Protestants. This possibly reflects the concerns of many of the Huguenots about the arguments in Bayle's writings.

Durand's comments are noteworthy in terms of the contemporary reception of the pamphlet for three reasons. The first is that they are concerned with the general Huguenot strategy in terms of response to the persecutions in France.

²¹ Israel, *Enlightenment Contested*, p.266.

²² Maimbourg, *Histoire du Calvinisme* as cited in David Durand, *Continuation de l'Histoire du X^{vi} Siècle, septième parti; qui contient la vie de M. de Thou* (London, 1732), p.36.

²³ Durand, p.37.

²⁴ Durand, p.37.

²⁵ Durand, p.37.

²⁶ Durand, p.37.

Durand's almost desperate attempt to deny the existence of the *libelles*, which Maimbourg charged the Protestants with having written, highlights the fact that the writing of such texts could be used against the Protestant cause to return to France. Such an attack was evident in La Roque's discussion of Gautereau's *La France toute Catholique*, where he cited the argument that the Huguenots' writings contained outrages against the government, the monarchy and even against the king himself.²⁷ Thus, the Huguenot community was aware that these *libelles* could prove counter-productive. This raises the question, however, of how the Huguenots could or should respond to the persecution and what other options were available to them. Durand's comments were also interesting in terms of how *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was read by Bayle's contemporaries. The position of Durand's discussion of these texts at the end of a series of comments on *libelles* would suggest that he was including *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the preliminary discourse of the *Commentaire Philosophique* in that genre too. It is not absolutely clear from Durand's text if it was in fact his own thoughts about Bayle's pamphlet that he was expressing. The way in which he presents his thoughts suggest that he was paraphrasing the criticism which Bayle seemed to have expected from Catholics about these writings; indeed, Durand cited Bayle's pre-emptive defence of the pamphlet in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. Nonetheless, the fact that Durand included Bayle's pamphlet and the preliminary discourse of the *Commentaire Philosophique* in the corpus of *libelles* suggests that he accepted the characterisation of these texts as 'véhémens & irreguliers quant à la forme'. Implicit in this characterisation of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* is another example of the epistolary format of pamphlet being overlooked, with the voice of the first Huguenot letter being read as the dominant voice. Finally, Durand's comments about the pamphlet and the preliminary discourse of the *Commentaire Philosophique* suggest that some of Bayle's contemporaries had established a link between the first two occasional texts that Bayle had published following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, even if it was only in terms of the style in which they were written.

Pierre Des Maizeaux, as I have already mentioned, discussed Bayle's pamphlet in his 'Life of Mr Bayle' in *The Dictionary historical and critical of Mr*

²⁷ La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, Feb. 1686, art. iv, pp.37-8. See ch.3, pp.107-8.

Peter Bayle.²⁸ Des Maizeaux's description of the text actually falls largely in line with the description which Bayle gave in his review of it in the March 1686 issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. The reader is faced primarily with a reiteration of Bayle's own opinion of the pamphlet rather than the reaction of a contemporary to it. However, Des Maizeaux does make one or two noteworthy comments. As I noted in my discussion of the introduction, Des Maizeaux informs his readers that Bayle wrote *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* because he had lost patience with the injustices committed by the Catholics in France.²⁹ Immediately prior to this Des Maizeaux maintains that the comments that Bayle made in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* were made 'with a great deal of wisdom and caution'.³⁰ In doing this, Des Maizeaux implies a contrast between Bayle's tone and frame of mind when writing the pamphlet and that when he discussed these matters in his journal. Thus, Des Maizeaux perceived an escalation or shift in the tone which Bayle used in his journal to that employed in the pamphlet.

While Des Maizeaux, echoing Bayle's own comments in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, was one of few to note the distinction in style between the two Huguenot letters in the pamphlet, noting that the second Huguenot letter was written 'with a great deal of mildness and moderation', his discussion gives the first Huguenot letter a place of primacy in the collection.³¹ Des Maizeaux noted that the first Huguenot letter 'makes the body of the book'.³² He described this letter as 'a very strong and severe censure of the conduct of France with regard to the Reformed'.³³ Here again then, the first Huguenot letter was presented as angry and the dominant voice in the collection. However, having recounted the main arguments in the first Huguenot letter, Des Maizeaux then cited Bayle's own comments upon the first Huguenot letter in his review of the pamphlet in the March 1686 issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* with the effect that he defended the style of the pamphlet.³⁴

Des Maizeaux also explained Bayle's use of the artifice at the start of the pamphlet as being prompted by the fact that he did not want to be 'so much as

²⁸ Des Maizeaux, 'Life of Mr Bayle' in *The Dictionary historical and critical of Mr Peter Bayle*.

²⁹ See Introduction, p.22.

³⁰ Des Maizeaux, p.xxv.

³¹ Des Maizeaux, p.xxvi.

³² Des Maizeaux, p.xxv.

³³ Des Maizeaux, p.xxv.

³⁴ Des Maizeaux, p.xxvi.

suspected' of being the author of the pamphlet.³⁵ This desire for anonymity suggests that Bayle was aware that the pamphlet would not be well received by his contemporaries in France. The fact that all of Bayle's immediate family had died by that point means that this cannot account for his concern to remain anonymous. On the other hand, a desire to preserve his reputation in the Republic of Letters could account for this, which ultimately raises the question (to which I will return) as to why Bayle would publish something which he knew would not be well received in the first place and what he could have hoped to have achieved in publishing it.

Jean-Baptiste-René Robinet (1735-1820), a French philosopher, commented upon Bayle's pamphlet in the preface to the fifth volume of the *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle, ou abrégé méthodique de ses ouvrages*.³⁶ Robinet's comments, though shorter, are largely in line with Des Maizeaux's account. Robinet noted that the first Huguenot letter formed the main body of the text, which was 'une forte censure' of the Catholics' behaviour in France.³⁷ Like Des Maizeaux before him, Robinet also remarked that 'Bayle se donna bien de garde de s'en avouer l'Auteur'.³⁸ Robinet's account differs from Des Maizeaux's in that having set Bayle's writing of the pamphlet as a reaction to the insistence of Catholic authors' denial of the use of violence, Robinet goes further and sets it as a reaction to the appearance of Gautereau's text.³⁹ Thus, Robinet's comments cast Bayle's pamphlet as a strong attack upon Catholics in France, but marked Gautereau's text as precipitating the writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Again no distinction was made between the different voices in the pamphlet.

The Jesuit philosopher Jacques Le Fèvre (d.1755) commented upon Bayle's pamphlet in his text entitled *Bayle en petit, ou anatomie de ses ouvrages*.⁴⁰ The purpose of the text, which takes the form of dialogues, is to prove from a discussion

³⁵ Des Maizeaux, 'The Life of Mr Bayle' in *The Dictionary historical and critical of Mr Peter Bayle*, p.xxv.

³⁶ François Marie de Marsy, *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle, ou abrégé méthodique de ses ouvrages*, 8 vols (London, 1755-c.1770). The initial four volumes of this text, published in 1755, were written by the Jesuit Marsy. The latter four volumes appeared after the death of Marsy and were attributed to the Jean-Baptiste-René Robinet (1735-1820). See J.M. Quéraud, *La France Littéraire, ou Dictionnaire Bibliographique*, v, (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1833), pp.565-6; VIII, p.85. Consequently, I will cite the text as the work of Robinet.

³⁷ Robinet, *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle*, p.lxvii.

³⁸ Robinet, p.lxvii.

³⁹ Having mentioned the general context Robinet wrote '& comme il parut un Livre intitulé, *La France toute Catholique sous le Regne de Louis le Grand &c.* il [Bayle] composa un petit Livre sous ce titre: *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*'. See Robinet, *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle, ou abrégé méthodique de ses ouvrages*, v, pp.lxvi-ii.

⁴⁰ Jacques Le Fèvre, *Bayle en petit, ou Anatomie de ses ouvrages* (Paris: Marc Bordelet, 1738).

of the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* that Bayle was a libertine.⁴¹ In the sixth dialogue of this text, which was intended to prove Bayle's bad faith in his discussion of texts by Catholics, reference is made to *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* on two occasions. Le Fèbvre wanted to convince his readers that Bayle was biased in his judgements citing as proof of this a difference of opinion between Bayle and Maimbourg concerning Pierre Dumoulin. Le Fèbvre argued that 'les moindres méprises des Catholiques' in Bayle's eyes seemed like 'des monstres'.⁴² Le Fèbvre criticized his condemnation of Catholic authors in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* who, Le Fèbvre maintained, were merely informing him that the accounts of the conversions by the Huguenot refugees were exaggerated.⁴³ Le Fèbvre then turned Bayle's accusations of bad faith in the writings of Catholic authors back upon him.⁴⁴ Ultimately, in the seventh dialogue Bayle's pamphlet was condemned as a 'diabolique libelle', written by 'un Auteur Protestant & fugitive, qui devoit être en horreur à tous les bons François, après ce qu'il a écrit contre toute la Nation'.⁴⁵ In presenting the pamphlet in this way the bias and anger of the Huguenot is made evident, thereby undermining his account. Undoubtedly the purpose of describing the author as both a Protestant and a fugitive was to undermine his credibility with his readers. It should be recalled that the second Huguenot letter drew back from attacking the whole French nation.⁴⁶ Thus, Le Fèbvre's summary of the argument in Bayle's pamphlet suggests yet again that the epistolary format did not play a role in contemporary understandings of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. The pamphlet is presented by Le Fèbvre as a monologic text associated with the voice of the first Huguenot letter. Le Fèbvre, like Rainssant before him, does not distinguish between Bayle and the voice of the first Huguenot, rather he presents the criticisms of the letter to be Bayle's own opinions. Le Fèbvre's reading of the pamphlet could of course have been strategic in that it presents the pamphlet as a virulent, unrelenting castigation of the whole of France. This is an issue which I will discuss in detail in the last chapter of this thesis.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Le Fèbvre, *Bayle en petit*, see Entretien I.

⁴² Le Fèbvre, pp.224-5.

⁴³ Le Fèbvre, pp.224-5.

⁴⁴ Le Fèbvre, p.225.

⁴⁵ Le Fèbvre, p.242.

⁴⁶ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.83.

⁴⁷ See ch.6, pp.205-7.

Thus, in Le Fèvre's assessment of the pamphlet, be it for strategic or other reasons, only one voice is registered and that is the voice of the first Huguenot, which is deemed to be Bayle's mouthpiece. Moreover, Le Fèvre's discussion of the pamphlet shows that both its content and the way in which it was written could be used to criticise him.

The comments of the Abbé Claude Yvon (1714-1791), a collaborator on the *Encyclopédie*, are particularly interesting because in one of his individual projects, *Liberté de Conscience Resserrée dans des Bornes Legitimes*, he looked at *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in the context of Bayle's aim in the *Commentaire Philosophique* to promote religious toleration.⁴⁸ The purpose of Yvon's own text was to present the arguments for the civil toleration of religion 'sous une forme catholique' in the hope that it would have a different effect from 'les memes idées traitées dans les principes des Protestans'.⁴⁹ Yvon maintains that in the *Commentaire Philosophique* Bayle firmly established 'les droits de la conscience', but that it nonetheless failed to convince its audience. Yvon cites two reasons for this failure. The first is that woven throughout the *Commentaire Philosophique* are numerous errors which would result in the toleration that Bayle advocated leading to religious indifference. Consequently, Yvon condemns Bayle as 'un ennemi déclaré du christianisme'.⁵⁰ The second reason which Yvon gave was 'les invectives sanglantes, qu'une fureur brutale & forcée arrache de sa plume contre l'Eglise Romaine & la sacrée majesté de nos Rois, dans cette Philippique mordante, connue sous ce titre: *la France toute Catholique sous le regne de Louis le Grand*'.⁵¹ Clearly the voice of the first Huguenot letter was considered to be the dominant one in Yvon's reading of Bayle's pamphlet. Yvon argues that if readers knew that the author of the *Commentaire Philosophique* was also the author of the invective in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* they may have been hesitant or even resistant to Bayle's arguments for religious toleration. This raises the issue as to whether Bayle had a cogent strategy in mind in terms of his response to religious persecution. From Yvon's comments it is evident that he did not think that Bayle had thought through his response. Yvon's analysis poses the problem of the same author publishing a supposedly violent polemic in the form of *Ce que c'est que la France*

⁴⁸ Yvon, *Liberté de Conscience Resserrée dans des Bornes Legitimes*.

⁴⁹ Yvon, p.ii.

⁵⁰ Yvon, pp.iii-iv.

⁵¹ Yvon, p.iv.

toute Catholique and thereafter making an appeal for civil toleration of religion, as Bayle did in the *Commentaire Philosophique*.

Nicolas Fréret (1688-1749) was a historian and secretary of the Académie d'Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.⁵² In his *Examen Critique des Apologistes de la Religion Chretienne*, Fréret does not comment upon Bayle's pamphlet in general, but rather he quotes from the text to further his own argument. Fréret made the argument that: 'En péchant contre les premiers devoirs de l'humanité, on s'imagina plaire à Dieu, & plus on étoit cruel, plus on étoit censé avoir de la religion'.⁵³ He then argues that it was this fact which led the first Huguenot in Bayle's pamphlet to be surprised at the fact that Jews did not warn various peoples across the world of the violent and persecutory nature of Catholics.⁵⁴ Fréret's citation of Bayle's pamphlet is interesting because his comments were directed against the Christian religion in general and not in favour of one sect or the other. Therefore, Fréret thought that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* exposed the lengths to which Christians would go in the name of their individual confessions, which often resulted in crimes against humanity. Indeed, as I will discuss in the final chapter of this thesis, on the basis of the first Huguenot's citation of deists, who argued that all revealed religions would transgress natural law in defence of their own confession, some scholars have agreed with Fréret's opinion.⁵⁵ To this extent then Fréret thought that Bayle's pamphlet went beyond a condemnation of Catholic persecution of the Huguenots to a more general criticism of religious zeal, which I will consider in detail in the last chapter of this thesis.⁵⁶

The last discussion of Bayle's pamphlet that I will comment upon is that by John Aikin in the entry on Bayle in his *General Biography; or lives, critical and historical of the most eminent persons of all ages*.⁵⁷ Aikin's account of Bayle's pamphlet falls largely in line with those which I have already recounted, with one exception. Aikin's account deviates when he is shifting attention away from the pamphlet to the *Commentaire Philosophique*: he described *Ce que c'est que la*

⁵² Nicholas Hudson, *Writing and European Thought, 1600-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.56.

⁵³ Nicolas Fréret, *Examen Critique des Apologistes de la Religion Chretienne* (1775), p.179.

⁵⁴ Fréret, p.179. See also Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.71.

⁵⁵ See ch.6, pp.205-7.

⁵⁶ I will discuss this in further detail. See ch.6, pp. 187-9, 205-7.

⁵⁷ John Aikin, *General Biography; or lives, critical and historical of the most eminent persons of all ages*, 10 vols (London, 1799- [1815]).

France toute Catholique as a prelude to the *Commentaire Philosophique*. Aikin sees a continuation in theme in that in the pamphlet Bayle had condemned the forced conversions in France, with the *Commentaire Philosophique* providing thereafter 'a close and elaborate defence of general toleration in religious matters'.⁵⁸

My analysis of these sources then suggests that the general understanding of Bayle's pamphlet in the years which followed its publication remained relatively stable: *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was understood to be an angry or strong attack by a Huguenot against the persecution of his co-religionists and the hypocrisy of Catholics in France as expressed through one dominant voice. This understanding of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* led some of these authors to raise a number of significant questions about the pamphlet as a response to contemporary events, which help to define some of the questions that need to be answered in order to understand both how and why Bayle wrote this pamphlet. While, on the one hand, some of Bayle's co-religionists seem to have judged his pamphlet to be an effective and biting condemnation of Catholics' treatment of Huguenots, on the other hand, some of the contemporary reception indicates that presenting criticism in the form of angry polemic was counter-productive. Rainssant, for example, immediately discounted the substantive claims of the pamphlet on the basis that the Huguenot was consumed by anger and had therefore not considered the situation in a more cool frame of mind. Indeed, Durand's comments testify to the fact that even some Huguenots understood that publishing *libelles* would not help further their cause with Catholics, a fact which had previously been brought to Bayle's attention by La Roque. This seems naturally to prompt the question as to why Bayle would have chosen to respond to the context with a text which could be read as angry polemic. His response, as understood by his contemporaries, seems all the more unconsidered or ill-advised in view of the fact, as Yvon pointed out, he would have lost much credit with his readers immediately prior to publishing his argument for civil toleration of religion in the *Commentaire Philosophique*. This highlights one of the questions which must be tackled in order to understand what Bayle hoped to achieve when writing his pamphlet. Are we to conclude that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was a reactionary and possibly ill-judged contribution to the religious controversy both

⁵⁸ Aikin, *General Biography*, II, p.59.

in terms of the Huguenot cause and Bayle's long-term concerns? Or should we conclude that among the authors of the extant sources providing contemporary reception of the pamphlet, there was not one who could decipher Bayle's 'écriture codée'?

A comment by Bayle on the pamphlet a few months after it was published suggests that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was an untempered reaction to contemporary events. In his review of Jean Claude's *Les Plaintes des Protestans*, which Bayle discussed in article IV of the May 1686 issue of the journal, Bayle contrasted Claude's text with his own pamphlet. Having noted that French Catholics who travelled to the Netherlands were ashamed of this disparity between what happened in France and what the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had promised, despite their penchant for writing panegyrics of their state, Bayle commented: 'si on lit le *ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, on y verra une furieuse tirade là-dessus, mais ce que l'on trouve ici sur cette affaire est incomparablement mieux ménagé & mieux digéré'.⁵⁹ Bayle, therefore, presented his pamphlet as a monologue in which there was a furious condemnation of the hypocrisy and lies of Catholics in France who promised peace, but made violence. This description would seem to suggest that the pamphlet was written in haste and was reactionary, unlike Claude's text which was carefully crafted.

However, several other factors would suggest that even if Bayle had published a 'furieuse tirade', he would have had a considered reason for doing so. His writings in the months surrounding the publication of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* demonstrate that he had a very clear idea about what was at stake in the disputes about the contested representations and legitimacy of the forced conversions. Bayle was very much aware that it was not solely an intellectual matter: it also had immediate consequences for the Huguenot refugees across Europe. This awareness is evident in Bayle's efforts in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* to make his readers consider the question of the legitimacy of forced conversions in terms of the immediate context of the persecution of Huguenots.⁶⁰ He wanted his readers to consider the consequences for Huguenots both in France and those in exile across Europe. The implications, both intellectual and human, of this dispute were explicitly discussed by Bayle in his review of Jean

⁵⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, May 1686, p.519.

⁶⁰ See ch.2, pp.88-9.

Claude's *Les Plaintes des Protestans cruellement opprimez dans le Roiaume de France* (1686) in the issue of May 1686 of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*. The review of Claude's work evoked the intellectual implications of the Catholic accounts, with Bayle asking: 'car où en seroit-on d'ici à 40. ans lors qu'on liroit les livres dédiés au Roi qui assûrent positivement qu'il n'a ruiné le Calvinisme que par les voies charitables d'une douceur paternelle?'⁶¹ The consequence of not refuting these so-called ridiculous claims is that in forty years people would think that they are in fact true because these claims were made publicly to the king himself. Therefore, it is a matter of importance for the creation of an accurate historical record that these claims be refuted 'pendant que les choses sont toutes fraîches de garantir la réalité des événemens'.⁶² If Huguenots were to wait before refuting Catholic accounts of events then the historical record would be damaged in two ways. As long as the Catholic version of events remained unchallenged the greater currency and legitimacy it would gain, making it more difficult to refute in years to come. Moreover, allowing time to elapse before writing would also mean that Huguenot accounts or recollections of events would become hazy and not as accurate. It was necessary, in Bayle's eyes, to write in order to protect 'contre toutes les entreprises des flateurs & des empoisonneurs de l'Histoire'.⁶³ Thus, the goal of Bayle's writings was to move ever closer to the admission of what he terms the 'terrible *Oüi*', the admission that the conversions of the Huguenots in France were indeed obtained by violent methods.⁶⁴ The necessity for this refutation was evident in Bayle's citation of Claude's argument that the aim of Catholic accounts of the soft methods of conversion was to extinguish 'tous les sentimens de compassion qu'on pourroit avoir de leurs [des Huguenots] misères' in their chosen country of exile, be it England, the Netherlands, Switzerland or Germany.⁶⁵ Thus, by propagating these accounts, Catholics were diminishing the possibility of assistance for Huguenots who went into exile, many of whom had to abandon their profession and worldly goods in France. It is evident from Gwynn's discussion of the treatment of Huguenots in England, which I have mentioned elsewhere, that this concern was not

⁶¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, May 1686, Article IV, pp.523-4.

⁶² Bayle, p.524.

⁶³ Bayle, p.524.

⁶⁴ Bayle, p.527.

⁶⁵ Bayle, pp.516-7.

unjustified.⁶⁶ In the light of Bayle's keen awareness of both the human and intellectual consequences implicated in this dispute it seems unlikely that he would have published something without considering the impact that it could have upon his co-religionists both in France and in exile, particularly when Bayle was writing when there was still hope among Huguenots of returning to France.⁶⁷

From my discussion of the context in which *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* developed, it is evident that while specific factors such as La Roque's threat to Huguenot authors may have precipitated Bayle's writing of the pamphlet, the fact that the response attempts to transcend the immediate context suggests a certain amount of circumspection on Bayle's part. By this I mean that it is evident from the fact that he distanced the pamphlet from the specific context of their disputes that he did consider how to respond to Catholic authors. Furthermore, as I have previously discussed, the sources relevant to the context of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* prove that he had thought about both what the natural reaction to Catholic accounts of the conversions would be and also what was the appropriate means for him to respond to them within the restrictions imposed by the code of conduct in the Republic of Letters.⁶⁸ However, Bayle's experience of the reception of his tone in matters relating to the religious controversy showed that to some extent the tone was irrelevant because Catholics would read even his supposedly moderate comments as 'une ironie maligne & une invective très-sanglante'.⁶⁹ Thus, Bayle had considered the various ways in which this dispute might be responded to by Huguenots, but the options did not seem promising.

Finally, it is necessary to address the implication of Yvon's argument that Bayle did not have a coherent strategy in mind because the polemic in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* would cause its readers to be less open to the arguments of the *Commentaire Philosophique*. While the artifice for the origin of the *Commentaire Philosophique* presents the texts as being written by two different people, which might go some way to proving Yvon's point, the very fact that Bayle repeatedly linked the two texts would seem to negate it or at least suggest the necessity to reconsider this. As Gros has pointed out, Bayle linked the two texts in

⁶⁶ Gwynn, 'James II in the Light of His Treatment of Huguenot Refugees in England, 1685-1686', pp.831, 833.

⁶⁷ Labrousse, "Une foi, une loi, une roi?": *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, p.211.

⁶⁸ See ch.2, pp.100-5.

⁶⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Feb., 1686, art. vii, p.206.

various places: in the second Huguenot letter of the pamphlet, the *Commentaire Philosophique* was announced; in the review of the pamphlet in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* the fact that the *Commentaire Philosophique* was announced was noted; and finally in the preliminary discourse of the *Commentaire Philosophique* it was remarked that it was the author of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, an 'esprit ardent', who wanted this text to be written.⁷⁰ The pretext in the *Commentaire Philosophique* then suggests that something in the experience of the author of the pamphlet prompted him to solicit someone to argue the case in favour of religious toleration. This gives some reason to consider the possibility that, when writing these texts, Bayle had a strategy in mind, in which, as Gros has argued, the *Commentaire Philosophique* is, *contra* Yvon's assertion, the next step from the situation in which the Huguenot author of the pamphlet has found himself.

Given Bayle's awareness of what was at stake in the religious controversy at the time, it is unlikely in the first place that he would have rashly intervened therein. However, leaving room for the possibility that even despite these concerns he could have lost his temper or acted rashly, both Bayle's consideration of and comments upon the natural and appropriate Huguenot response to Catholic accounts of conversions in his dispute with La Roque and the fact that the pamphlet attempts to transcend its specific context suggest that consideration was given by him to how *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* should function as a response to the dispute. Finally, the fact that Bayle explicitly and repeatedly linked the pamphlet with the *Commentaire Philosophique* indicates that he had a single strategy in mind when writing these texts. Thus, taking into consideration Bayle's own description of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the context in which it was written, it seems necessary to consider the possibility of an alternative reading or interpretation of the pamphlet from that of his contemporaries (or at least the sample which I have presented). Moreover, as I noted in chapter two, Bayle knew that individuals would read and understand texts in accordance with their own concerns, prejudices and preoccupations and therefore not necessarily in accordance with the author's intention in mind or as a guide.⁷¹ Bayle accepted that a text would and could be read in more than one way. It will be the purpose of the next

⁷⁰ Bayle, *De la tolérance*, ed. by Gros, pp.33, 52. Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, pp.83-4; Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Mar. 1686, cat.iii, p.346.

⁷¹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, p.1317. See also ch.2, pp.89-90.

chapter to suggest other possible ways of understanding Bayle's pamphlet, in particular its epistolary format. This is by no means to reject the interpretative value of the contemporary reading of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. When discussing the value of histories that were written about contemporary events by people from the countries involved, Bayle argued that the value of these texts lay in what they could tell us about the prejudices and concerns of their authors, rather than in their accounts of what actually happened.⁷² Thus, it is not necessarily the case that the authors of the sources that commented upon *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* could not decipher his 'écriture codée', but rather it is possible that for their own motivations they wanted to criticise Bayle's pamphlet. The contemporary reception of the pamphlet is valuable in a similar way. More than that, I think that the contemporary understanding of the pamphlet as an attack upon the behaviour of Catholics in France in the months surrounding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is accurate. Furthermore, as I will discuss in further detail in the next chapter, while, based on the sources which I have presented, his contemporaries did not grasp Bayle's overall purpose in writing *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, their reaction to or understanding of the pamphlet was what he would have expected from many of his readers, indeed it may even have precipitated the writing of Bayle's pamphlet.

In this chapter, I have examined the contemporary reception of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in order to problematize Bayle's writing of it and thereby, frame the discussion of it in the second section of this thesis. The pamphlet was understood to be a monologic text identified with the angry voice of the first Huguenot. This meant that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* came across as a violent attack upon Catholics to Bayle's contemporaries. The fact that Bayle wrote such a text is presented as particularly unwise by Yvon's assertion that it would undermine his claims and arguments for religious toleration in the *Commentaire Philosophique*. Based upon several of Bayle's comments and his overt attempts to link the pamphlet and the *Commentaire Philosophique* together, I have argued that it seems likely that he did want these two texts to be read as a pair-text. It will be the work of the next section of the thesis, first to go beyond the contemporary monologic reading of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, by

⁷² Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle: Hétérodoxie et rigorisme*, p.18.

an analysis of its epistolary format, in order to present other possible ways of understanding the pamphlet structure. Thereafter, it will be the work of the last chapter to examine, in further detail, whether the understanding of the relationship between *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique* that is suggested by this recontextualisation can be given further credence by an analysis of the epistolary format of and the substantive claims in the pamphlet.

Section Two

Rhetoric: Defining a wholly Catholic France

Chapter Five

Approaching the Pamphlet: From Monology to Polyphony

In the opening chapters of this thesis, I have established that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* derived from, but also transcended the specific context of the disputes between Bayle and La Roque, so that Bayle could comment more generally upon and respond to the issues prevalent in the religious controversy in the post-Revocation era. Among these issues specifically were the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the use of violence to achieve conversions, the denial by Catholic authors of the use of violence and finally, the appropriate response to this behaviour in religious controversy. Throughout my contextualisation of the pamphlet I also noted various features and characteristics of the disputes with La Roque and of the exchanges in religious controversy that could help point towards possible explanations for the epistolary format of the pamphlet. The second section of this thesis will address some of the questions raised by the contextual examination through a two-fold analysis, which will examine both the construction of the argument in the pamphlet by means of the epistolary format and also the discussion of rhetoric in terms of style, tone and language. Ultimately, in this section these two aspects will be shown to interact in order to express the point or overarching argument of the pamphlet. In this chapter, I will argue that the structure of Bayle's pamphlet points the reader towards certain considerations about the usefulness of rhetoric for the purpose of ending the religious controversy and also about a use of language which is honest and transparent. Thus, I will discuss the three different styles or discourses presented through the epistolary format of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and also the substantive claims made in it about these styles. In chapter six, in the light of that discussion then I will examine the claims made about rhetoric, understood as a dishonest discourse, in order to elucidate Bayle's purpose in writing the pamphlet.

One of the main issues prompted by my discussion of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*'s contemporary reception is the monologic reading of the pamphlet by Bayle's contemporaries: the first Huguenot voice was identified as the authorial voice with the result that the other letters were overlooked or did not impinge upon the reader's understanding of the pamphlet. As I noted in the introduction, the use of voices or discourses are understood by scholars to play a

significant role in the construction of Bayle's texts, which ultimately contribute to deciphering his intended meaning or the purpose of the text.¹ This prompts the necessity of reconsidering the monologic reading of the pamphlet and of attempting to provide an explanation for the epistolary format of the pamphlet, which I will do in this chapter.

Before proceeding, however, I will comment briefly upon the epistolary format and structure of the pamphlet, including a discussion of the kind of rhetoric employed in each of the individual letters, which will be relevant to my discussion in this section of the thesis. As I noted in my introduction, the letter had become an important literary genre in the early modern period, but it also formed the basis of the intellectual exchange intrinsic to the *commercium literarium* of the Republic of Letters.² According to Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis* the letter 'must be adapted as far as possible to the immediate occasion, and to contemporary topics and individuals', and the letter between friends 'should be neither unpolished, rough, or artificial, nor confined to a single topic, nor tediously long', thereby favouring 'simplicity, frankness, humour, and wit'.³ In the pamphlet the reader is faced with an exchange of letters, if not among friends then certainly among acquaintances. The Catholic canon postulates that he is the 'depositaire de l'invective' of the first Huguenot because he refused to assist him in fleeing France before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.⁴ This points towards some expectation of friendship or good will by the first Huguenot from the Catholic canon. The latter's appeal to the second Huguenot to explain the first Huguenot's letter also testifies to a pre-existent friendship between these men. However, the first Huguenot letter does not fit comfortably in the category of a friendship letter. It was possible for a letter to a friend to contain a reproach to a friend who had failed in their duty in some way. It was expected, however, in a letter of friendship that this reproach be mitigated in some way, be it by praise or dissembling or use of gentle language in order not to compromise the relationship.⁵ The first Huguenot, as I will discuss in further detail later, refuses to mitigate his criticisms, saying that his address to the Catholic canon

¹ See Introduction, pp.17-8.

² See Introduction, pp.28-9.

³ Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings of Erasmus*, vol. 25 pp.14, 20.

⁴ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, pp.32-3.

⁵ Erasmus, p.210.

will be 'sans compliment' in a language which might be though 'un peu rude'.⁶ This letter then can more comfortably be categorised as a letter of reproof, in which criticism could be levelled without restraint.⁷

The letters in the pamphlet are written in various combinations of three genres of rhetoric those being epideictic, forensic and deliberative rhetoric, which I discussed in my introduction. Here I will identify the main genres used in each of the letters in the pamphlet. The Catholic canon's letter is composed to a significant extent of epideictic rhetoric: he praises of the king's conversion of the Huguenots and blames the first Huguenot's letter for its invective. The first Huguenot letter, which employs a violent language of reproof contains elements of the three genres of rhetoric. A combination of judicial and epideictic rhetoric is used to blame Catholics' actions in relation to conversion of Huguenots and also their accounts of them in the aftermath of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The first Huguenot employs hypophora, a strategy of argumentation associated with judicial rhetoric, in which one posits what adversaries could say in their own favour or in order to exculpate themselves from blame. The first Huguenot employs this technique when he criticizes the inconsistent and contradictory defenses by Catholics of the methods of conversion.⁸ Two other rhetorical devices which are central to composition of the first Huguenot's arguments in the pamphlet are *definitio* and *notatio*. As I will discuss in further detail later, the title of the pamphlet and the first Huguenot's letter, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, poses *definitio*, the ascription of characteristic qualities to a person or thing, as its central goal.⁹ Thus, much of the substance of the first Huguenot's letter is formed with the technique of *notatio*, which involves 'describing a person's character by the definite signs which, like distinctive marks, are attributes of that character'.¹⁰ These rhetorical devices will be seen to be conceptually important also, in that the wilful use of inaccurate or obscurantist language for the purpose of describing the conversions is a central concern of the first Huguenot. The second Huguenot's letter embraces a more moderate style than that of the first Huguenot: irony features strongly in this letter, as do efforts to maintain an amicable relationship with the Catholic canon, such as

⁶ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.33.

⁷ Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings of Erasmus*, vol. 25, p.218.

⁸ Bayle, pp.48-51.

⁹ [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, p.317.

¹⁰ [Cicero], p.387.

his attempts to appear willing to concede ground on certain points to the canon. This letter employs the three genres of rhetoric in order to address the question whether or not Catholic authors should give up writing false accounts of conversion process. He points to the negative consequences of the spurious accounts of the conversions not just for the Huguenots but also for the reputations of the authors themselves. This second Huguenot letter also makes significant use of exhortation, specifically protrepsis. Protrepsis is a kind of exhortation intended to 'win someone over to a particular enterprise or way of life by demonstrating its superiority'.¹¹ The second Huguenot, as I will discuss later, employs this in order to convince the Catholic canon to renounce the dishonest discourse of Catholic authors and to speak a language in which style and substance correlate.

In this section of the thesis, it will become evident that the substantive claims about rhetoric as a dishonest discourse function in conjunction with rhetorical structure of it in order to make Bayle's point in the pamphlet. In this chapter, then, I will discuss the way in which these three letters function together to make a point about the religious controversy and the use of rhetoric, understood as a dishonest discourse. As I noted in the introduction, scholars over the years have espoused and employed various strategies for reading Bayle's texts.¹² In relation to *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* specifically, a number of suggestions have also been put forward for how the epistolary format in the pamphlet can be understood. I will briefly present some of current ways of interpreting the structure of the pamphlet, before suggesting two other ways of understanding the purpose behind it.

Bost suggests that the reason for the two Huguenot voices was that 'des motifs introduits violemment par le premier épistolier soient repris par le dernier, avec d'autant plus de force que celui-ci reste calme'.¹³ Bost envisions the dynamic between the two Huguenot letters as that of a good cop/bad cop scenario, stating: 'On pense aux tactiques d'obtention de l'aveu mises en œuvre dans les commissariats: un premier policier hurle et frappe le suspect. Il est relayé par un acolyte qui joue l'apaisement et la compréhension'.¹⁴ Following the violent discourse of the first Huguenot letter (bad cop), it is the more moderate Huguenot letter, in

¹¹ Abraham J. Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation: A Greco-Roman Sourcebook* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1989), p. 122.

¹² See Introduction, p.16.

¹³ Bost, 'L'écriture ironique et critique d'un contre-révocationnaire' in Magdelaine, Pitassi, Whelan and McKenna (eds), *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières*, 665-678, p.666.

¹⁴ Bost, *Pierre Bayle: Historien, Critique et Moraliste*, p.190.

part because it so vividly contrast with the first one, that has the capacity to precipitate the 'terrible Oüi'. However, Bost notes that, as the Catholic canon's response is not provided in the pamphlet, it is left to the reader to decide upon the veracity of the substantive claims of the two Huguenots.

Zuber, Armstrong and Barbara de Negroni all view the pamphlet as being 'a tripartite argument in favour of a Protestant perspective on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the violence surrounding it'.¹⁵ Negroni explains how the pamphlet functions as tripartite argument to make one point, writing that:

Cette mise en scène de trois locuteurs différents permet de dévoiler le caractère manipulateur de la version officielle que les catholiques donnent de la révocation. L'abbé souligne l'égarement criminel de l'auteur du libelle, et explique qu'il ne veut pas lui répondre, ayant acquis grâce à l'enseignement de l'Église l'onction et la suavité des Pères [...] Le libelle démasque cette vision catholique de la révocation en faisant apparaître derrière la douceur la persécution dragonne, derrière le zèle un clergé courtisan.¹⁶

The criticisms of the first Huguenot are reinforced and given more credence when the second Huguenot reiterates them in a more moderate tone. Zuber argues that the first Huguenot's letter served to shock the readers in order to wrest them from their cavillous reasoning, thereafter the second Huguenot's use of irony to reassert the first Huguenot's arguments would be more palatable to the *honnêtes gens*, who are the supposed target audience for the pamphlet. This understanding of how the epistolary format functions does not differ greatly in essentials from Bost's understanding. Zuber's analysis goes further than Bost's: Zuber sees the two Huguenot letters functioning together to make a rhetorical point, which I will discuss below.

Jean-Michel Gros's understanding of the purpose of the epistolary format differs from the others that I have presented here. Gros suggests, albeit briefly, that the exchange in the pamphlet served to insist violently on the intolerance of all Christian religions, which ultimately brings into question Bayle's project of establishing toleration on a rational basis in the *Commentaire Philosophique*.¹⁷ I will comment upon Gros's reading of the pamphlet in chapter five.

Although there will be some overlap in my discussion with these readings, it is not my intention here to bring one of these strategies specifically to bear upon *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Nor do I intend to call into question the

¹⁵ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', p.79.

¹⁶ Barbara de Negroni, *Intolérances Catholiques et Protestantes en France, 1560-1787* (Paris: Hachette, 1996), p.108.

¹⁷ Bayle, *De la Tolérance*, ed. by Gros, p.33.

validity of the above interpretations, despite the fact that I will present alternative possibilities for understanding the purpose of the epistolary format in Bayle's pamphlet. There is more than one possible and legitimate interpretation of the relationship between the letters in the pamphlet. In order to undertake this reading I intend to allow the various markers which Bayle planted in his pamphlet and his other comments about the pamphlet to guide my interpretation. This reading will also be informed by Bayle's concerns and experience of the religious controversy which, in my discussion of the specific context of the pamphlet, I suggested might help elucidate our understanding of the purpose behind the epistolary format in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

In religious controversy, as I noted in the introduction, the title of a text was normally indicative of the intention of the author in producing a text and thereby informed one's readers how to read it. For example, the readers of Bayle's *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme par Sieur Maimbourg* gleaned from the title of the work that Bayle's text was a criticism of Maimbourg's history. However, Bayle's pamphlet, though by no means unique, was rare in the ambiguity to which its title lent itself: while the subtitle of Gautereau's text indicated that it was a refutation of works by Jurieu, Bayle's pamphlet had no such giveaway.¹⁸ Moreover, the words which Bayle added to the title of Gautereau's text do not definitively indicate which side in the religious controversy this text was supposed to uphold. Although the phrase, 'Ce que c'est que', purports to define or to characterize what would be a wholly Catholic France, it was by no means obvious from the title as to whether the depiction which would follow would adhere to the Catholic conception of it or, as was in fact the case, if the pamphlet was to serve as a corrective to the image propagated by Catholics. Nonetheless, the fact that a representation or characterization of a wholly Catholic France was the purpose of the pamphlet provides a starting point for reading it. Moreover, the words added by Bayle to the title of Gautereau's text establish *definitio*, the attempt to provide a definition or characterisation words or things, as a core concern of the pamphlet.

The fact that the title features both as that of the entire pamphlet, and also as the title of the first Huguenot letter means that it is unclear whether the image of a wholly Catholic France is supposed to be either the one presented in the first

¹⁸ [Anon], *The Present State of the Protestants in France in Three Letters* (London: Pall Mall, 1681).

Huguenot letter (or the amalgamated voices of the two Huguenots), or the one created by interaction between the three letters. If the first is the case, then the contemporary reading of the pamphlet gains increased legitimacy. In this reading, the first Huguenot letter should form the centre and focus of the reader's attention, with the other letters featuring in the pamphlet to support the pretext for the publication of the pamphlet. However, if the second reading was intended then a further investigation into the structure is necessary in order to understand Bayle's purpose in presenting the three letters which adhere to different rhetorical strategies. The voices of the two Huguenots come to interrupt the monologic homogeneity of a France in which there is 'un roi, une loi, une foi'. By incorporating the framing material, that is the second Huguenot letter, the Catholic canon's letter and the note from *le Libraire au Lecteur*, into our understanding of the wholly Catholic France which Bayle wanted to present then *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* can be seen to function as an exemplification of religious controversy. Throughout my discussion of the specific context for *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, I pointed out various situations which could help to account for the structure of it. I do not intend to suggest that the letter writers in the pamphlet reflect or are ciphers for participants in the disputes between Bayle and La Roque. The fact that Bayle, in order to comment generally upon the dynamic of interconfessional exchange in religious controversy, attempted to transcend the specific context of his disputes with La Roque would seem to warn against such an understanding of the characters in the pamphlet. Nonetheless, it is probable that Bayle's interactions and experience of religious controversy in these disputes in the months prior to his writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* influenced his decision to employ the format of an interconfessional epistolary exchange. At the very least these exchanges provide various avenues to pursue in attempting to explain the structure of the pamphlet and its rhetorical elaboration. The interaction presented in these three letters can be understood in various ways.

The first possibility that I want to discuss is that the epistolary format was intended by Bayle to present an exemplification of the interaction between Catholics and Huguenots in religious controversy. From my discussion of the disputes between Bayle and La Roque in the first section of this thesis it is evident that Bayle quite regularly commented upon the reading and writing practices of those participating in religious controversy. He remarked several times in the *Nouvelles de*

la République des Lettres that the self-interest, bias and intransigence in the authors and readers of each confession inhibited progress or resolution of disputes in the religious controversy. I have previously noted Bayle's suggestion that Maimbourg had a vested interest in defending and expounding the Catholic position in religious controversy,¹⁹ and also his despair at the intransigence of each side.²⁰ He also remarked that the spirit of most controversial authors was to 'se prendre à tout ce qu'ils trouvent plutôt que d'avoüer qu'ils se soient trompez'.²¹ Controversial authors were not working to establish the truth of what happened through dialogue, rather they wanted to defend their own party line. The consequence of this is that there was no real intellectual exchange or dialogue driving the dynamic of the religious controversy. In terms of those reading controversial works, Bayle was aware that they were not reading critically. In his article on Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, he noted that, when reading, people 'ne demandent pas si un Historien prouve ses accusations, ils l'en croient de reste sur sa parole pourvû qu'il couvre d'infamie le parti qui leur déplaît'.²² The texts pertaining to religious controversy were thus concerned, not with convincing or persuading members of the other confession, but rather with bolstering the opinions of their co-religionists. Bayle was also aware that the most immediate dispute about the contested representations in France would prove particularly difficult to resolve. In the issue of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* from November 1685, he prefaced his review of Jurieu's *Réflexions sur la cruelle persecution que souffre l'Eglise Réformée de France* (1685) with comments upon the contested representations of the conversions. He noted that: 'Jamais peut-être on n'avoit vû entre les Auteurs une diversité aussi bizarre que celle qui se rencontre presentement entre les Catholiques & les Réformez qui écrivent sur les Conversions de France'.²³ The consequence of this disparity is that compromise on this topic would not be possible. Bayle conjectured that either the Reformed would be exposed as 'les plus hardis calomniateurs qui ayent jamais été au monde' or Catholics would be seen to be 'les plus grands fourbes & les plus hardis flatteurs dont on ait jamais eu d'exemple'.²⁴ According to Bayle, there could be no middle ground, no compromise. Thus, he knew that convincing

¹⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Feb., 1686, Article VII, p.200.

²⁰ Bayle, Dec., 1685, Article IV, p.1318.

²¹ Bayle, Aug., 1686, p.968.

²² Bayle, Nov., 1685, Article IV, p.1239.

²³ Bayle, Nov., 1685, Article IV, pp.1215-23.

²⁴ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p.1216.

Catholics to abandon their opinion would be an uphill, if not impossible, struggle. This prompts the question, why, when he was aware of these difficulties, Bayle would nonetheless have attempted to intervene in religious controversy with his pamphlet. I will return to consider this question in the conclusion. The purpose of presenting this sample of his observations upon religious controversy in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* is that they can help to account for one understanding of the epistolary format in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

The Catholic canon describes the methods which were employed in the conversion process as 'les voies douces zelées & charitables'.²⁵ Consequently, he experiences the first Huguenot's letter as a *libelle* full of unjustified invective.²⁶ The Catholic canon claims not to understand why the first Huguenot would react the way he did to the conversions in France. He wrote:

Après tout quand on auroit fait quelques desordres dans vos maisons, ne seroit-il pas raisonnable de les souffrir patiemment et de baiser la main qui vous frappe, puis que ce n'est que pour vous sauver éternellement que l'on vous prive de quelques commoditez temporelles.²⁷

The arguments of the first Huguenot are not addressed by the Catholic canon. Rather, the latter refers the Huguenot to 'les incomparables Epitres du Docteur de la Grace, le grand S. Augustin', where he will supposedly find all of his objections to the means of conversions employed in France irrefragably refuted.²⁸ The Catholic canon's letter therefore reflected Bayle's experience of Catholic writings which both denied that force was employed in the conversions of the Huguenots and yet defended its use. The Catholic canon does not address any of the arguments or criticisms in the first Huguenot letter, rather he perfunctorily discounts them by appealing to an authoritative *exemplum*, that is to the writings of Saint Augustine, specifically Letters 48 and 50. The content of the letter is reminiscent both of La Roque's comments on Olaus's conversion efforts in Norway and also of Ferrand's discussion of the conversions in the *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Reformation»*.²⁹

Furthermore, in the disputes, the exchanges between the various participants did not prove particularly productive, with each side attempting primarily to defend the position of their own confessional allegiance. Similarly in the pamphlet, the

²⁵ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.32.

²⁶ Bayle, p.32.

²⁷ Bayle, p.32-3.

²⁸ Bayle, p.33.

²⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Jul., 1685, art. iii, p.809

exchange between the first Huguenot and the Catholic canon was unproductive; the Catholic canon did not engage with the first Huguenot's comments. The fact that the Catholic canon appeals to the second Huguenot, whom he believes to be reasonable, for an explanation of the first Huguenot's polemic suggested a desire and willingness to attempt to understand the first Huguenot's position. This hope is subverted when it becomes clear that the Catholic canon had no intention of taking into consideration the response that he would receive from the second Huguenot: he already knew that he would reply according to 'les maximes Chrêtiennes' which supposedly belonged to a different moral discourse from that which Huguenots adhered to.³⁰ Since the Catholic canon's reply was predetermined, ultimately then the second Huguenot's letter will fall on deaf ears, regardless of its tone and content. The supposedly moderate tone of the second Huguenot letter would therefore have no more impact upon the Catholic canon than the polemic of the first Huguenot letter. Indeed, the note from *le Libraire au Lecteur* also supports this understanding of the impact (or lack thereof) of the more moderate and reasonable approach of the second Huguenot. The arguments of the second Huguenot and the questions which he addressed to the Catholic canon are overlooked, with the emphasis being placed upon the fact that he was willing to criticize the 'bile excessive' of the first Huguenot.³¹ Although it might appear problematic to employ the pretext for the publication of the pamphlet as representative of the Catholic response to the two Huguenot letters, similar Catholic reactions to such scenarios are evident in contemporary sources. In his review of Le Fèvre's *Nouveau Recueil de tout ce qui s'est fait pour & contre les Protestans, particulièrement en France*, La Roque's opening comment evokes a similar dynamic to that in the epistolary exchange in Bayle's pamphlet. La Roque began his review with the statement that:

C'est sur ces sortes d'ouvrages qu'il faut juger de la conduite qu'on a tenuë en France contre les Calvinistes, & non pas sur les plaintes vagues, outrées & injustes contenuës dans les libelles de quelques Ecrivains passionnez & furieux, que tout le monde sçait estre pleins de faits ou extrememêt exagerez, ou entieremêt faux & reconnus pour tels par ceux mesmes des P. R. qui ont un peu de bonne foy.³²

The moderation and good faith of one Huguenot author was employed by La Roque to condemn the more impassioned writings of their co-religionists. The artifice in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* does seem to reflect one way in which the

³⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.32.

³¹ Bayle, p.31.

³² La Roque, *Journal des Sçavans*, II, 9 Sept 1686, p.279.

pamphlet would be read and used by Catholics at the time. According to this account of the exchange, neither of the rhetorical strategies in either Huguenot letter could prove effective in terms of convincing the Catholic canon and progressing towards a resolution of the religious controversy, precisely because the Catholic canon was biased in favour of his own confession. Curiously then, while by virtue of their length and their similar substantive claims, the two Huguenot letters should dominate and prevail in this exchange, they are revealed in the Catholic canon's letter to have been entirely ineffective and futile. This reading of the pamphlet therefore can be seen to suggest that religious controversy is unresolvable, which correlates with Bayle's observations in his journal about the inherent bias of those participating in interconfessional exchanges.³³

The lack of progress in the exchanges between the two confessions, however, is not entirely blamed upon Catholics' prejudice and unwillingness to listen and engage with the arguments of Huguenots. As Gros has argued, this collection of letters demonstrates the mutual intolerance of each confession for the other side.³⁴ The Catholic canon implores the second Huguenot to return 'dans le giron de vôtre Mere', warning him that eternal salvation was not to be found outside the Catholic Church.³⁵ The second Huguenot responded to this by mirroring the Catholic canon's action, saying: 'je vous suis tres-obligé des souhaits que vous faites pour ma conversion: je ne saurois mieux vous en *témoigner* ma reconnaissance qu'en faisant des vœux pour la vôtre'.³⁶ Thus, this collection of letters presents the religious controversy between Catholics and Protestants as at an impasse, with neither side being willing to renounce their own confession. This is significant because the possibility of reunification of the two confessions that had been raised in the course of the Olaus dispute is undermined and rejected here.³⁷ Although the second Huguenot appears to agree with some of the Catholic canon's criticisms of the first Huguenot, which would seem to hint towards the possibility of a productive or progressive dialogue, ultimately, as scholars have pointed out, the second Huguenot's letter primarily reasserts the arguments of the first Huguenot, whilst

³³ See ch.2, pp.89-90.

³⁴ Bayle, *De la Tolérance*, ed. by Gros, p.33.

³⁵ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.33.

³⁶ Bayle, p.84.

³⁷ See ch.2, pp.86-90.

employing a different rhetorical strategy.³⁸ The second Huguenot points also to the futility of the exchange which is represented in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Having summarized the main errors of Catholics in France, the second Huguenot remarks: 'Comme il n'y a que Dieu qui puisse rompre vos engagements, je vous récommende à sa sainte miséricorde'.³⁹ Undoubtedly there is a jibe intended here against Catholics' efforts at conversion in France, but the comment also suggests that pursuing the exchange between these participants would be in vain, as, according to the understanding of how conversion functioned in the early modern period, only the grace of God could make the members of any confession truly alter their beliefs and their sense of what the true religion was.⁴⁰ This also implicitly rejects one of the justifications of force in the conversion process, which argued that the force employed was intended to help the heretics to break free from their longstanding prejudices and thereby enable them to consider the merits of each confession from an unbiased perspective.⁴¹

The exemplification of the religious controversy, by this reading, suggests that the purpose of writing *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was to demonstrate that no rhetorical strategy in terms of their chosen *elocutio*, be it the *rude langage* of the first Huguenot or the more moderate language of the second, could effectively overcome the religious bias which inhibits a person's ability objectively or openly to consider the arguments or criticisms of those of another confession. In writing the pamphlet, then, it is possible that Bayle wanted to demonstrate that exchanges in the religious controversy were inherently unproductive. Furthermore, if neither side could be prevailed upon to convert, then there was no possibility of a reunification of the confessions. This ultimately made it necessary to find a way for the two confessions to live together. As I will discuss in detail in chapter six, there were both religious and socio-political difficulties to be surmounted in order for it to be thought acceptable for the two confessions to co-exist in the one state.⁴² For the moment, it is sufficient to note that, if one of the purposes of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was to point out the impossibility of a reunification of the two confessions, then the pamphlet could be

³⁸ See account of the understanding of Bost, Zuber and Armstrong as discussed above, p.142-3.

³⁹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.85.

⁴⁰ See ch.2, pp.80-2.

⁴¹ Luria, 'Conscience and Coercion: Personal Conscience and Political Conformity in Early Modern France', pp.229-31.

⁴² See ch.6, pp.174-9.

understood as a relevant and necessary prelude to the *Commentaire Philosophique* which argued for universal toleration based on the rights of the erring conscience, paving the way for the creation of a religiously plural society.

Another possible explanation of the epistolary format in the pamphlet can be inferred from the note from *le Libraire au Lecteur* at the start of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and also from Bayle's comments about the pamphlet in his review of it.⁴³ As I have previously discussed the review in some detail, here I will primarily focus upon the note from *le Libraire au Lecteur* and appeal to my discussion of the review where necessary.⁴⁴ In the note from *le Libraire au Lecteur* at the start of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, the *libraire* tells the reader that he has decided to print these letters 'afin que l'on connoisse l'esprit de l'Hérésie qui n'inspire que l'emportement'.⁴⁵ This suggests that the purpose of printing this collection of letters was to show (and implicitly condemn) the 'emportement' of Huguenots. However, in this note, the reader is also told that in reading these letters: 'On verra la difference du stile entre la Lettre d'un Réfugié & celle d'un Chanoine'.⁴⁶ In doing this, Bayle was guiding the reader towards an examination of the very aspect of the first Huguenot's letter with which his contemporaries were liable to find fault — his chosen *elocutio*, the tone or style of his language. The *libraire* describes the first Huguenot's letter as 'un Libelle violent'.⁴⁷ Indeed, in the note from *le Libraire au Lecteur*, Bayle went on to tell his reader that: 'On verra même qu'il se trouve, parmi ces fugitifs de France, des personnes assez sincères pour blâmer la bile excessive de leurs Confrères'.⁴⁸ With this comment, by virtue of the fact that the sincerity of the second Huguenot was being praised, it would appear that Bayle agreed with the second Huguenot's disapproval of the excessive bile or anger of the first Huguenot. However, the fact that the *libraire* points the reader more explicitly towards a comparison between the style of the Catholic canon and the first Huguenot rather than between the first and second Huguenot is perhaps telling. For reasons which will become evident in the last chapter of this thesis, Bayle was prompting his readers to compare the styles of the first two letters in the collection, rather than that of the second two letters. His

⁴³ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.31.

⁴⁴ See ch.3, pp.116-20.

⁴⁵ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, ed. by Labrousse, p.31.

⁴⁶ Bayle, p.31.

⁴⁷ Bayle, p.31.

⁴⁸ Bayle, p.31.

comments upon the writings of Catholic authors and the appropriate Huguenot response to the persecutions in his disputes with La Roque, in conjunction with the comments in the second Huguenot letter point to the conclusions which Bayle intended his readers to draw from this exercise. Thus, the substantive claims of the three letter-writers about style will be employed to attempt to understand the purpose of presenting these three letters in different styles to the readers of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*.

I have already noted that the Catholic canon's letter reproduced the kind of discourse and arguments that Bayle had seen in the writings of Catholic authors such as Ferrand, La Roque and Maimbourg about the conversions in France.⁴⁹ Bayle ridiculed Ferrand for the fact that he did not want to use a word that was 'trop rude' when criticising people, despite the fact that they were committing acts of physical violence. Throughout Bayle's disputes with La Roque, Catholics are presented as employing a discourse in which the style and substance of what was being discussed do not correlate. In response to the bad faith in the writings of Ferrand and the Catholic canon, at the start of his letter the first Huguenot, explicitly addressing the question of *elocutio*, openly informs the Catholic canon that he has adopted a discourse which he thinks the canon will find 'un peu rude'. The harsh language employed by the first Huguenot is intended to serve two purposes. Firstly, it is intended to castigate Catholics. The first Huguenot, in this letter of reproof, tells the Catholic Canon that this harsh language is justified because 'une petite mortification vous [des Catholiques] seroit fort necessaire, & vous la meritez si bien tous tant que vous êtes qu'on vous fait justice de vous dire vos veritez les plus facheuses sans compliment'.⁵⁰ Catholic authors then are culpable and deserving of punishment. The Huguenot's choice of words to describe the purpose of his harsh language is interesting. The terms 'mortification' and 'fait justice' attribute a physicality to the punishment that the first Huguenot intends to inflict on Catholics. Mortification in the religious sense usually involved some form of corporal punishment, be it either in terms of violence or deprivation. *Faire justice* involved the execution of some form of corporal punishment in public. The implication here that words could impact upon the body was not uncommon in the early modern period, as it was

⁴⁹ See ch.2, p.73.

⁵⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.33.

consistent with the theory of the humours.⁵¹ *Faire justice* was a form of punishment carried out in public. The public nature of the punishment was first, so that, in cases of slander, the reputation of the offended party could be restored publicly and second it was to serve as a means of enforcing social order. The first Huguenot's language is presented as assuming a public disciplinary function, which is that of enforcing social order. This is a point which I will examine in detail in chapter six.

The second purpose of the first Huguenot's violent discourse is to reject the empty discourse of Catholic authors in which style and substance do not correlate. The first Huguenot declares his intention to tell Catholics in France 'vos veritez les plus facheuses sans compliment'.⁵² Thus, the first Huguenot's discourse is one which consists of the telling of disagreeable truths expressed in a language stripped of any marks of civility and deference. The first Huguenot deployed this discourse in order to elucidate '[c]e que c'est que la France toute Catholique'. This form of punishment is consistent with a tendency in the seventeenth century to reject a kind of rhetoric which softens, cushions or mitigates and to embrace plain-speaking in order to criticise. This is evident in one of Fénelon's dialogues, where the question is posed:

Après avoir entendu ce païen, que direz-vous de cette éloquence qui ne va qu'à plaire et qu'à faire de belles peintures, lorsqu'il faudrait, comme il dit lui-même, brûler, couper jusqu'au vif, et chercher, sérieusement la guérison par l'amertume des remèdes et par la sévérité du régime?⁵³

This kind of almost violent truth-telling was fitting for the first Huguenot's purpose of rejecting the language of empty flattery employed by Catholics as it eschewed prevarication. However, by employing a discourse that did not permit the use of 'compliment', the first Huguenot seems to reject the demands of *bienséance*, one of the key socio-cultural concepts in seventeenth-century France which was intended to regulate one's behaviour, particularly of those at court or who belonged to the upper echelons of society. In his *Observations sur l'éloquence des bien-séances*, the Jesuit scholar, Père René Rapin presented *bienséance* as a concept which imposed various concerns upon an author or orator. *Bienséance* was an art which 'ne consiste que dans une convenance parfaite de ce que dit l'Orateur avec la manière dont il faut le dire'.⁵⁴ Thus, it was necessary to take into consideration the rules of *politesse*, which

⁵¹ Emily Butterworth, *Poisoned Words: Slander and Satire in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Legenda, 2006), p.28.

⁵² Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.33.

⁵³ Fénelon, *Œuvres*, I, ed. by Jacques le Brun (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), p.25.

⁵⁴ Rapin, *Du grand ou du sublime dans les mœurs et dans les différentes conditions des hommes*, Unpaginated Avertissement of *Observations sur l'éloquence des bien-séances*.

require that one's text be appropriate to the circumstances which prompted it and also that it be tailored to respectfully address one's audience. In employing a discourse that was 'sans compliment', then, the first Huguenot was locating his discourse outside the realm of the dominant discourse in France, that of the polite society of court. This approach may seem strategically unsound given the importance of good taste in the period as it could have alienated or simply angered the readers of the first Huguenot's letter, as it did the Catholic canon.

The Catholic canon criticised the invective in the first Huguenot's letter and elicited a condemnation from the second Huguenot of the letter which he had characterised as containing an 'emportement [...] criminel'.⁵⁵ In the final letter, that of the second Huguenot, the styles of both the Catholic canon's letter and that of the first Huguenot are criticized. The question that must be addressed now is what could Bayle have hoped to achieve by urging his readers to compare the soft but hypocritical style of the Catholic canon with the angry tone of the first Huguenot, when neither of their respective styles were beyond the reproach of their contemporaries.

At the outset of his reply to the Catholic canon, the second Huguenot claims to agree with some of the criticisms levelled against the first Huguenot. However, his apparent agreement with the Catholic canon is subverted by the fact that in each instance an excuse is presented to justify the first Huguenot. The second Huguenot informs the Catholic canon that he disapproved of the first Huguenot's 'expressions trop générales et hiperboliques'.⁵⁶ However, the second Huguenot justified the substance and style of the first Huguenot's letter arguing that the first Huguenot's personality was disposed towards exaggeration, which his inclination for poetry demonstrated. As a result of this disposition, the first Huguenot 'ne s'apperçoit pas que ses termes soient hiperboliques, parce qu'en les comparant avec ses idées, et avec sa persuasion, il ne trouve pas qu'ils excèdent les objets tels qu'il les conçoit'.⁵⁷ Thus, the first Huguenot's discourse and style correlates with his understanding and knowledge of the conversions in France. Consequently, his supposed exaggeration is justified.

⁵⁵ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.32.

⁵⁶ Bayle, p.75.

⁵⁷ Bayle, pp.75-6.

At the beginning of a lengthy discussion of the predicament of Catholic authors in France who denied the use of force against the Huguenots, the second Huguenot endorsed the polemic written against them, saying: 'je les [Catholic authors] abandonne aussi à tous les traits de l'indignation de nos Ecrivains'.⁵⁸ Although the style of the second Huguenot letter is more restrained and moderate, the violent discourse of the first Huguenot was endorsed as the appropriate reaction to the prevarication of Catholic authors. This is consistent with Bayle's comments in his review of Maimbourg's *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand*, where he argued that the appropriate reaction to the prevarication of the Catholics was 'emportement'.⁵⁹ However, towards the end of the second Huguenot's discussion of Catholic historians' representation of the conversions, he seems to retract his initial approval of his co-religionists. He wrote: 'Je souhaite de tout mon cœur que nos Ecrivains se contiennent dans une modération achevée, et qu'ils ne perdent jamais le respect que est dû aux grands Monarques'.⁶⁰ The second Huguenot's comment here could be an implicit response to the assertion in La Roque's review of Gautereau's text that the writings of the Huguenots contained outrages written against the government, the monarchy and worst of all against the king.⁶¹ The second Huguenot informed the Catholic canon that it was mostly because of this lack of concern for the respect due to others that he criticised the first Huguenot. The second Huguenot told the Catholic canon that he attempted to rectify this part of the first Huguenot's behaviour by referring him to the *Traité de Morale* of the Oratorian Nicolas Malebranche.⁶² The second Huguenot quoted the following passage:

nous puissions en quelque manière manquer de bien veüillance pour nos persécuteurs, sans manquer à nos devoirs à leur égard, la persécution qu'ils nous font ne doit point, par elle-même, diminuer l'estime que nous leur devons, elle doit au-contraire l'augmenter en ce sens, que nous devons leur en donner des marques plus-sensibles & plus-fréquentes.⁶³

⁵⁸ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.77.

⁵⁹ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, II, Feb., 1686, art. vii, 184-209, pp.201-2.

⁶⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.82.

⁶¹ See ch.3, pp.107-8.

⁶² Zuber notes in his discussion of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* that Bayle appeals to Malebranche's philosophy on a few occasions. See Zuber, 'L'Écriture Comique' in Bots and Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, p.176. Bayle defended Malebranche in his journal against the criticisms of the Jansenist Antoine Arnauld.

⁶³ Malebranche as cited in Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.82. Bayle appears to have been citing from the 1683 edition of Malebranche's treaty. In the 1684 edition, following the phrase 'sans manquer à nos devoirs à leur égard' a new sentence was introduced which read: 'Car il n'y a que les vrais biens que l'on doit toujours souhaiter à ses ennemies'. See Malebranche, *Traité de Morale*, ed. by Henri Joly (Paris: Libraire du Collège de France, 1882), p.194. Bayle reviewed the *Traité de Morale* in *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (August, 1684, art III, pp.22-34).

This passage suggests that one was most certainly not obliged to wish their persecutors success in that endeavour. However, in a situation where one is being persecuted it is argued that it would be better to express more frequently and fervently esteem or respect for the persecutors rather than the opposite. The example that Malebranche provides in his treatise argues that one's enemy would take much greater offence at an apparent slight or snub than one's friends. The advice is to avoid angering your persecutors yet further by any hint of disrespect. The second Huguenot could therefore be understood to be giving strategic advice to the first Huguenot: maintain a respectful tone towards your persecutors so that you can avoid further reprimands and punishments. This would suggest that he disapproved of the fact that the first Huguenot's letter was written 'sans compliment'. However, in the light of the next paragraph in the pamphlet, the second Huguenot's advice here seems to acquire an ironic tone.

The second Huguenot puts it to the Catholic canon that 'vous vous faites un grand honneur de votre modération de stile, par opposition, dites vous, à *celui que nous avons contracté dans notre hérésie funeste*'.⁶⁴ The second Huguenot, however, cannot understand why, if this is true, the Church did not also teach Catholics to treat 'doucement par vos actions les autres Chrétiens'.⁶⁵ It is at this point in the second Huguenot letter that Bayle's purpose in pointing to the contrast between the letters of the Catholic canon and the first Huguenot becomes evident. The second Huguenot highlights the fact that the actions and words of Catholics are entirely incongruent.

L'Eglise vous apprend d'un côté à forcer les gens par les prisons, les bannissements, l'enlèvement des enfans, la dissipation des biens livrez aux Dragons, le dernier supplice même, à entrer dans son giron, et puis après elle vous met dans la bouche et au bout de la plume des paroles douces comme du miel.⁶⁶

If the second Huguenot intended his advice, expressed by reference to Malebranche's text, to the first Huguenot be taken seriously, then he would have been encouraging him to employ a discourse which, like the discourse of Catholics, was lacking in a correlation between style and substance. Thus, the second Huguenot's reference to the *Traité de Morale* was possibly an attempt to expose Malebranche for propagating this kind of dishonest discourse.

⁶⁴ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.82.

⁶⁵ Bayle, p.82.

⁶⁶ Bayle, p.82.

The second Huguenot supports his criticism of Catholics' dishonest discourse both by pointing to its implications in the socio-political domain (which I will discuss in detail in chapter six) and by appealing to elements of contemporary French rhetorical culture and social praxis, which Jacques Solé characterised as 'l'invasion de la polémique chrétienne par le ton cavalier'.⁶⁷ The second Huguenot incites Catholics to speak as violent people as then they will have 'l'éloquence des bien-séances, qui est un art et un secret dont les Rheteurs font un cas extrême'.⁶⁸ I previously noted that the first Huguenot's discourse fell outside the contemporary orthodox discourse in France because it rejected the demands of *bienséance*. The concept of *bienséance* was a complex and multi-faceted one. The first Huguenot's discourse, which was 'sans compliment', was deemed faulty because *bienséance* imposed a consideration of the rules of *politesse* in order that the style and tone of a text be appropriate to circumstances of delivery and to the condition or status of the audience.

However, the discourse of Catholics, according to the comments of the second Huguenot, also failed to adhere to the demands of *bienséance* for another reason. In Rapin's text, the concept of *bienséance* was also described as 'cet art qui sçait représenter comme il faut la nature telle qu'elle est, c'est-à-dire avec ce fonds de vérité qui rend solide tout ce qu'on dit, & qui donne à la raison cette forme & cette vertu, d'où se forme la persuasion'.⁶⁹ It is in this aspect that the writings of Catholic authors have appeared to have fallen short. The second Huguenot tells Catholics that: 'Rien n'est plus louïable que de parler conformément à ses maximes et à son genie: dès qu'on sort de ce naturel et de ce naïf, on tombe dans une disparité plus-choquante que ne fait l'uniformité toute vicieuse'.⁷⁰ The second Huguenot tells Catholic authors that they should speak according to their maxims and intellect, as doing otherwise means abandoning 'le naïf' and 'le naturel'.⁷¹ In this period, *naïveté*, as regards style, demanded that the words employed to describe something should be precise and a faithful expression of that object or idea.⁷² In the seventeenth

⁶⁷ Solé as cited in Zuber, 'L'Écriture Comique' in Bots and Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, p.173.

⁶⁸ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.83.

⁶⁹ Rapin, *Du grand ou du sublime dans les mœurs et dans les différents conditions des hommes*, p.107.

⁷⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.83.

⁷¹ On the concept of 'le naturel' see Bernard Tocanne, *L'Idée de Nature en France*, pp.236-49, 372-77.

⁷² Tocanne, p.372.

century *le naturel* was an aesthetic concept, which certainly did not encourage complete abandon and free expression of the self. Rather, *le naturel* demanded adherence to the rules of *bienséance*. Tocanne describes *le naturel* thus:

C'est d'abord respecter les règles de l'usage, et plier son moi à une discipline sociale, pour s'insérer dans la vie sociale, c'est refuser, avec l'affectation, la recherche de la singularité ostentatoire sanctionnée par le ridicule, les comportements «empruntés» où le sujet adopte une manière d'être qui ne convient pas à sa personne.⁷³

The thrust of the second Huguenot's criticism of Catholics' discourse is that it fails to meet the demands of *le naturel* on two fronts. The first reason is that by describing the persecution of Huguenots as charitable and gentle or non-violent acts Catholics were not adhering to *le bon usage*. I will discuss this criticism and its implications in detail in the next chapter.⁷⁴ The second reason is that the moderate discourse of Catholics did not reflect their true nature. Throughout his letter, the first Huguenot repeatedly characterises the nature of Catholics as being violent and deceitful.⁷⁵ The second Huguenot accepts this characterisation. On the basis of this he argues that Catholic authors by their use of a moderate discourse to represent themselves and their actions to describe were violating the rules of *le naturel* since they were pretending to be something that they were not. The way in which Catholics present themselves, according to the second Huguenot, 'C'est presque donner [l]a Comédie'.⁷⁶ The second Huguenot praised the Jansenist Antoine Arnauld and the Jesuit Père Philippe Labbe as in their writing they both conformed to that which was decreed at the Council of Clermont: '*Que ce n'est pas un meurtre que de tuer un Hérétique par zèle de Religion*'.⁷⁷ Therefore, the second Huguenot demands that if Catholics are violent in their actions, then they should reflect this in their writing.

The purpose of the comparison between the letters of the Catholic canon and the first Huguenot now becomes evident. The discourses of both the Catholic canon and the first Huguenot fall short of adhering to the rules of *bienséance* and *le*

⁷³ Tocanne, *L'Idée de Nature en France*, p.248.

⁷⁴ See ch.6, pp.186-91.

⁷⁵ Zuber discusses the first Huguenot's use of the concept of *le naturel* in 'L'Écriture Comique' in Bots and Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, pp.168-9. I will discuss the first Huguenot's characterisation in detail in the final chapter of the thesis.

⁷⁶ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.83. In his discussion of the pamphlet, Zuber examines how farce and burlesque were employed in the first Huguenot letter to show the absurdity of the Catholics' behaviour. See Zuber, 'L'Écriture Comique' in Bots and Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, pp.173-9.

⁷⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.83.

naturel. However, the first Huguenot's letter, though by no means faultless, was presented in the second Huguenot letter as better than that of the Catholic canon's. The reason for this was that the first Huguenot's letter presented the reader with a depiction of the deceitful and violent Catholic Church, which reflected not only the supposedly true nature of that Church, but also what was in the mind of the first Huguenot. The angry tone of the first Huguenot letter was justified by Bayle in his review of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, when he wrote that 'la beauté des pensées, & le fondement solide qu'elles ont quant à la substance du fait, feront excuser apparemment ce qui peut y être d'excessif'.⁷⁸ This comment gives primacy of place to substance or content over style. Thus, Catholics, because of their concern with style, are presented as having their priorities wrong. Furthermore, as I have noted, the second Huguenot had already justified the picture which the first Huguenot painted of a wholly Catholic France, arguing that it correlated with what was in his mind. The first Huguenot's letter therefore adhered to the demands of *le naturel* more than Catholic authors supposedly did.

Thus, this second interpretation of the purpose of the epistolary format of the pamphlet presents the letters functioning in a comparative capacity. Following the various textual markers and in particular the comments of the second Huguenot the reader is prompted to consider in the light of the demands of *bienséance* the prevarication of Catholic authors in contrast with the first Huguenot's letter, where there is a correlation between the style and substance of his letter. Bayle wanted to push his reader to the conclusion that the first Huguenot's letter, despite the invective, was better than the hypocritical *douceur* of the Catholic canon's letter. The purpose of the second Huguenot letter then was to defend the first Huguenot's truth-telling discourse from the criticisms of the Catholic canon. Zuber argues that the second Huguenot's use of irony means that his discourse was the most *naturel* and therefore the most likely to persuade the *honnêtes gens* in France.⁷⁹ The first Huguenot's letter, in Zuber's analysis, does not always give due respect to 'la renommée', 'la bienséance' or 'le *decorum*'. The first Huguenot failed in this respect (among other reasons) because of his lack of consideration for those whom he was addressing: his account was expressed 'sans compliment'. In Zuber's analysis the

⁷⁸ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, Mar. 1686, cat.iii, p.345.

⁷⁹ Zuber, 'L'Écriture Comique' in Bots and Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, p.172.

purpose of the second Huguenot letter was two-fold. Firstly, by employing a moderate tone, the second and so-called reasonable Huguenot could more effectively support and reinforce the substantive claims made in the first Huguenot's letter. Secondly, the second Huguenot's letter defended the style of the first Huguenot's letter as better than that of the dishonest discourse of Catholics. Thus, the purpose of the three letters in the pamphlet is to make a point about the style of language employed in each, which is elaborated by means of the substantive claims of the participants in the dialogue about rhetoric itself. Zuber's analysis of the two Huguenot letters seems to suggest that the point that Bayle was trying to make with the pamphlet was that irony, as used by the second Huguenot, was the best mode of reply to Catholics. I do not disagree with this. However, I do think that there is another possible way of understanding the purpose of the rhetorical point made in this analysis if one also takes into consideration the first point that I suggested was raised by the exemplification of the religious controversy in the pamphlet.

In the pamphlet, it is suggested by means of the exemplification of the religious controversy that bias hampered the possibility of effective communication between the two confessions. Ultimately, this failure of rhetoric militated against a reunion or the conversion of either side. This, I have argued, pointed towards the necessity of finding a way of justifying or accepting the possibility, in both the religious and political domains, of the two confessions co-existing. In the next chapter, I will argue that one way of understanding the point made in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* by the comparison of the different styles of language in the Catholic and Huguenot letters points towards a solution to this problem. Thus, the two interpretations of the epistolary format will be seen to function together, with the first posing the problem faced by contemporary French society and the second pointing towards a solution.

In this chapter I have presented a number of different ways to understand the purpose of the epistolary format in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. Each reading presents Bayle responding to different aspects of the disputes which formed part of the context of his writing of the pamphlet. In light of the context within which I had previously set Bayle's writing of the pamphlet and in conjunction with various textual markers, I have presented two other possible explanations of the epistolary format in addition both to the contemporary reception and current scholarly understandings of it. Both of these readings coalesce to focus the reader

upon the various different style of language or rhetoric employed in the three letters. With the first explanation, I demonstrated that his pamphlet was not only attacking Catholics in France, but that through presenting an exemplification of religious controversy he was highlighting the fact that it was not likely to be resolved. I suggested that if this was so, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* could be understood to have been intended as a prelude to the *Commentaire Philosophique* in that, if the religious dispute could not be resolved owing to the intolerance of each side, then civil toleration of religion would be necessary. The second interpretation of the epistolary format focused on a contrast of the varying degrees to which the participants in the letter-exchange fulfilled the demands of a discourse which was *naturel*. I argued that while the Catholic discourse was presented as failing most in this regard, the style of the first Huguenot letter, though presented as being more *naturel*, was not faultless. Nonetheless, as I will argue in the next chapter, the truth-telling discourse of the first Huguenot is presented as best suited to the task of providing a *definitio* of a wholly Catholic France. Thus, in the next chapter I explore how this last rhetorical point functions in conjunction with substantive claims made about language in the pamphlet in order to prepare the way for the *Commentaire Philosophique*.

Chapter Six
Defining a wholly Catholic France:
The Politics of Language and the Language of Politics

In this chapter, in conjunction with the understanding of the epistolary format in terms of the *dispositio* of the pamphlet presented in the previous chapter, I will examine the substantive claims about Catholic use of language or rhetoric in order to demonstrate how *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* can be seen to function as a necessary prelude to the *Commentaire Philosophique*.

The title of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* poses the semantic problem of defining or characterising a wholly Catholic France. The title, therefore, establishes the rhetorical devices of *definitio* or *notatio* as being at the core of the pamphlet. *Definitio*, as I noted in the introduction, is described in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as something which 'in a brief and clear-cut fashion grasps the characteristic qualities of a thing'.¹ *Notatio* 'consists in describing a person's character by the definite signs, which, like distinctive marks, are attributes of that character'.² The goal of the pamphlet as a whole, and also that of the first Huguenot letter (since it too bears the title *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*), is to provide an image or representation of a wholly Catholic France. This is achieved in a number of ways. Firstly, a picture of wholly Catholic France is presented through the epistolary format: the Catholic Canon is the only participant who still resides in France, with the two Huguenots having gone into exile following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. However, the incorporation of the voices of Huguenot exiles into a textual space which seeks to define a wholly Catholic France belies the supposed univocal homogeneity of absolutist France and highlights the displacement of the Huguenot population. Moreover, this disruption to the image and ideal of a France in which there is 'un roi, une loi, une foi', with that faith being Catholicism, highlights the fact that the characterisation of a wholly Catholic France is contested. This brings us to the second way in which wholly Catholic France is characterised in Bayle's pamphlet and that is through the substantive claims of the participants in this epistolary exchange. Each of the participants, in their respective letters, presents different characterisations of wholly Catholic France. The warring

¹ [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, p.317.

² [Cicero], p.387.

polemics or competing representations by Catholic and Huguenot authors, particularly about the nature of the conversions, highlight the fact that *definitio* is not only an aim of the pamphlet but also a central concern of it. I will argue in this chapter that the Huguenots present the Catholic *definitio* of a wholly Catholic France as being based upon a dishonest use of rhetoric and language, primarily based upon their use of *paradiastole* in their accounts of the conversions. *Paradiastole* is a rhetorical device common across all genres of writing, but which was employed primarily in judicial rhetoric.³ *Paradiastole* was employed primarily when the fact of the occurrence of an event or action could not be denied. Paradiastolic redescription provided a means of casting an event or action in a different moral light in order to exculpate oneself or to blame another. However, as will become evident, the first Huguenot does not condemn *paradiastole per se*. Indeed, it is a rhetorical device that he employs in his own letter to provide a *definitio* of the word Catholic. The first Huguenot's criticism of Catholic (ab)use of language or rhetoric functions on a number of different layers or different levels in the pamphlet, including a confessional polemical level, a moral-religious level and a socio-political level. Ultimately, having peeled back these layers of the Huguenots' criticisms of Catholic use of language and rhetoric in this chapter, it will become evident that they function, in conjunction with the readings I presented of the pamphlet in the previous chapter, in order to point the readers towards a use of language that is honest and transparent so that the *definitio* of a thing or person matches the actual qualities of it. Hubert Bost has correctly noted that Bayle, in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* evokes an '*éthique de la parole*' which is presented as particularly important for the preservation of an accurate historical record.⁴ However, in this chapter, I will suggest that, voiced partially through the citation of deists in the pamphlet, there is a further dimension to Bayle's *éthique de la parole*, which is explicitly concerned with the inculcation and preservation of an inter-subjective measure of morality so that the linguistic basis of society need no longer be founded upon a specific confession.

³ Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.138. Skinner provides a detailed account of the discussions of the various rhetorical strategies of *paradiastole* by Classical rhetorical theorists in chapter four, upon which I am drawing here.

⁴ Bost, 'L'écriture ironique et critique d'un contre-révocatoire' in Magdelaine *et al.*, *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières*, p.668.

Before examining the first Huguenot's characterisation of Catholicism and wholly Catholic France, I will first discuss the role of language or discourse in religious controversy from a theological and political point of view in order to explicate the different levels upon which his criticisms of Catholic use of language functions.

Firstly, one of the ways in which religious controversy can be conceived of is as a dispute about language or discourse. I have already noted that the Catholic canon and the first Huguenot are careful to assert that their respective uses of language differ from those of the other confession. The Catholic canon insists that in replying to the first Huguenot's letter 'selon les maximes Chrétiennes', he would be employing a different language from that which the Huguenots contracted 'dans les ténèbres de vôtre schisme et de vôtre hérésie funeste'.⁵ During the early modern period, in certain writings, Protestants did employ a different discourse from that of Catholics. Ruth Whelan notes that they wrote in a language which they called the 'Language of Canaan'. This language, Whelan tells us, was 'peppered with the cadences and phraseology of the Bible and allusions to biblical verses, concepts and characters'.⁶ The Huguenots' Language of Canaan was very much an 'in-group language' which was 'opaque to those who did not share the symbolic world of Huguenots, and which their contemporaries decried as comical and in very bad taste'.⁷ The Language of Canaan played a role in addressing one of the levels at which religious controversy was played out. In the Bible, one of the distinguishing features of those who followed Jesus Christ was supposed to be the language that they spoke. In Acts 2:1-13, it was written that on Pentecost:

there appeared unto them [the apostles] cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

It is evident from Pascal's evocation of this idea that one way in which the religious controversy could be understood was as a battle of languages. Pascal wrote that: 'Jésus-Christ a donné dans l'Évangile cette marque pour reconnoître ceux qui ont de la foi, qui est qu'ils parleront un langage nouveau, et en effet le renouvellement des

⁵ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.32.

⁶ Whelan, 'From the other side of silence: Huguenot life-writing, a dialogic art of narrating the self' in Tribout and Whelan (eds), *Narrating the self in Early Modern Europe* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 139-60, p.148.

⁷ Whelan 'From the other side of silence' in Tribout and Whelan (eds), *Narrating the self in Early Modern Europe*, p.148.

pensées et des désirs cause celui des discours'.⁸ The saturation of biblical terminology in Protestant language would have been presented as a sign that their confession was that which represented the true church of Jesus Christ, which was very much to the point in the religious controversy. Catholics inverted the significance of Protestants' knowledge of scripture in relation to the religious controversy. In his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Bayle tells of one of the *topoi* of Catholic controversial literature. This *topos* was that Protestant heretics would always claim to know scripture very well and would try to win over Catholics with their apparent knowledge of Scripture, but that this was a malicious ploy to dupe people into joining the heresy.⁹ Or as one Catholic polemicist, Gentian Hervet, wrote: 'Dōnez vous garde des faux prophetes qui viennent à vous en vestemens de brebis, & dedans sont loups ravissans'.¹⁰ Hervet's comment, drawing upon a metaphor in Matthew 7:15, shows that one of the terrains upon which the battle between the two confessions was fought out was which one best knew and spoke the language of Jesus Christ.¹¹ In converting to another confession then one would need to learn a new language or inscribe oneself in a different linguistic culture. The Catholic canon's assertion in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* that it was he who spoke according to the tenets of the Christian faith should be understood as engaging with this dimension of the religious controversy.

Language as marker of belonging to the true church of Jesus Christ must be understood not only in terms of vocabulary or lexicon, but also in terms of morality. In Matthew 7:16 it is written that: 'You will know them by the fruit they yield'¹². By means of a tree metaphor, this passage asserts that a person's actions reflect the kind of person that they are. The contemporary socio-cultural concepts of *bienséance* and *le naturel*, which I have discussed in the previous chapter, required a similar

⁸ Blaise Pascal, *Pensées de Blaise Pascal, suivies des Lettres* (Paris: Abel Ledoux, 1836), p.198. See also Richard Parish, *Catholic Particularity in Seventeenth Century French Writing: 'Christianity is Strange'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.86, n.117.

⁹ Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, I, p.202, a [Anabaptistes].

¹⁰ Gentian Hervet 'Sermon de Gentian Hervet, apres avoir ouy prescher un predicateur suspect d'heresie' in Hervet, *Recueil d'aucuns mensonges de Calvin, Melanchthon, Bucere [...]* (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1561). See G. Wylie Sypher, 'Faisant ce qu'ils leur vient à plaisir': The Image of Protestantism in French Catholic Polemic on the Eve of the Religious Wars', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11 (1980), 59-84, p.65. Ferrand cites Origen employing similar trope in *Reponse a l'apologie*, p.539.

¹¹ The image of heretics as wolves used to justify killing them. See Jurieu citing Catholic arguments in *Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme mises en parallèle*, 2 vols (Rotterdam: Renier Leers, 1683), p.247.

¹² *New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Newly Translated from the Vulgate Latin*, trans. by R.A. Knox (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1944), p.13.

correlation between a person and their character or status: the language a person used was understood to reflect the particular *génie* of that individual.¹³ Or to put it another way, speaking the language of Jesus was to show that one adhered to his Word, that is, to the code of Christian morality as adumbrated in the Gospel. Language, then, was a means of transmitting morality to others, but it also reflected one's own morality. Consequently, in religious controversy, language was a key means by which individual sects could assert their particularity from other confessions but this ultimately was done in the desire to assert that they spoke the universal language of Christ in order to claim the truth of their confession. However, as Hervet's warning shows, at the core of the religious controversy was, quite obviously, the problem that it was possible for each confession to present itself as being the true followers of Christ because neither confession could prove that it was the one true Church. External signs or markings such as 'true religion' and 'orthodox' could be mobilised by either side. This is a problem of which Bayle was aware. He wrote in the *Nouvelles Lettres*:

Ce qu'on a dit de la vraie Religion, que c'est un terme qui est devenu tres-équivoque, puis qu'en la bouche d'un Turc il signifie le Mahometisme, en la bouche d'un Catholique Romain le Papisme, en la bouche d'un Danois le Lutheranisme.¹⁴

Each religion calls the other heretical and retains the label of orthodoxy for itself. Religious controversy thus manifested itself as a war of words, with each confession attempting to assert its discourse as the authoritative one. In the battle to assert its own authority, each confession claimed the term 'true religion' for their own confession. These biased discourses exposed the flexibility of language in which meaning is a social construct which, as will become evident, could result in certain terms becoming *équivoque*.¹⁵ As will become evident throughout my discussion in this chapter, Bayle builds the arguments in the pamphlet based upon an exposition of the consequences of the effects of preying upon a dishonest use of language in order to further one's cause.

The dispute about the right to claim the term 'true religion' was not just carried out on a level of positive assertion that one's confession was the true church: it also involved showing that the terms in question could not accurately be employed

¹³ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 1, [Langage]. See ch.4, pp.157-8; Tocanne, *L'Idée de Nature en France*, pp.236-7.

¹⁴ Bayle, *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique Générale*, p.110.

¹⁵ Olivier Abel also makes this point. See Olivier Abel, 'La Diversité de l'Éthique de Bayle' in Delpla and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, 267-282, p.272.

in reference to the other confession. In religious controversy, wolves dressed as lambs were unmasked in various ways. The confession's interpretation of Scripture would be attacked as spurious, as deviating from the rule of the early Church or as having been undertaken in bad faith. Another method of unmasking was to prove the immorality of the leaders, members and teachings of the other sect. If it could be proven that Calvin, for example, led an immoral and debauched life, then the Huguenots' claim to speak the language of Christ would be discredited.¹⁶ As will become evident later, the first Huguenot's re-description of Catholics in France can be understood within this context of unmasking vice dressed as virtue.

In religious controversy, then, language, understood in both a semantic and moral sense, was employed not only to establish the particularity of one's confession, but also to claim that one's confession was the true Church of Jesus Christ. The dispute over phrases such as 'true religion' highlighted the bias of the claims made by each confession, which exploited the social construction and/or misconstruction of language and meaning. It will become evident throughout my discussion of the first Huguenot's criticisms of Catholics' use of language that it functioned not only to discredit their claim to speak the language of Christ, but also to highlight the ways in which it would prove problematic for a society in which religion played an integral role. Thus, I now want to examine the relationship between the Catholic Church and the French state at the time.

In the early modern period the domains of religion and the socio-political were very much linked. This is evident in the fact that many of the kings of Europe were designated by titles which reflected this association. The king of France was *le roi très-Chrétien*. Furthermore, the divine right of kings meant that the rule of a monarch was derived directly from God and thus he was considered to be his servant.¹⁷ The king was required to defend and protect their religion. Indeed, the kings of France swore an oath to that effect at their coronations.¹⁸ The desire of the absolutist government of Louis XIV to make France a state in which there was 'un roi, une loi, une foi' seemingly inextricably interlinked the discourses or languages

¹⁶ Gautereau, *La France toute Catholique*, I, [Third *Entretien*].

¹⁷ Labrousse, "Une foi, une loi, un roi?": *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, pp.106-7.

¹⁸ Labrousse, p.106; James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.79-80.

of the Catholic Church and the state.¹⁹ The relationship of the Church and state was in theory supposed to be a symbiotic one, with each party bringing something beneficial to it.

Religion was understood to bring stability to the state as well as to language. The moral instruction provided by the Church was supposed to be necessary to regulate people's behaviour. One of the ways in which religion played a significant role was as *la religion du serment*. In 1682 François Desmarest, an 'avocat à la Cour', published a text by this name which was essentially a re-writing of the comments of Simon Vigor (1556-1624), a 'Conseiller du Roi en son Grand Conseil' and a staunch Gallican.²⁰ The text takes issue with the use of equivocation which Desmarest claims was invented by casuists in order to subvert the course of justice and to prevent subjects of the king from properly obeying him.²¹ Desmarest makes his argument on the basis that religion was supposed to encourage people to act in good faith with each other and to employ an honest use of language. Thus, religion was understood to play a fundamental role in a society in which almost all of one's dealings with others were dependent upon the legitimacy and currency of one's word.²²

Christian morality was, in many contemporary treatises, presented as a necessary characteristic of *honnêteté*.²³ *Honnêteté* was a complex ideal of the kind of behaviour to which people should aspire at the court of Louis XIV, which, as I noted in the introduction, was often characterised in terms of other contemporary socio-cultural concepts such as *bienséance*, *le naturel* and *la politesse*. Nicolas Faret's description of the *honnête homme* points to the majority of the features associated with it. He wrote that an *honnête homme* was: 'le gentilhomme qui joint à la «naissance» les dons du corps, la souplesse et la grâce, - la culture de l'esprit, le

¹⁹ For a discussion of the development of absolutist thought see Nannerl O. Keohane, *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp.54-97.

²⁰ François Des Marest, *La Religion du Serment contre l'Artifice de Parole, ou l'Equivoque* (Paris: Christophe Journal, 1682). See Frédéric Gabriel, 'Une Réponse aux artifices de parole: la religion du serment. François Desmarest sur les pas de Simon Vigor', *Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques* [En ligne], 33 | 2004, mis en ligne le 05 septembre 2008, consulté le 15 septembre 2012. URL : <http://ccrh.revues.org/255>, p.1.

²¹ Des Marest, *La Religion du Serment*, Unpaginated dedicatory letter.

²² In his book Steven Shapin discuss the importance of communication in good faith to the functioning of early modern society. See Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p.9.

²³ See for example St Hilaire, *L'idée ou le caractère de l'honnête homme* (Paris: Medard-Michel Brunet, 1698), Avertissement, xiii-iv. See also Maurice Magendie, *La Politesse Mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté, en France au XVII^e siècle, de 1600 à 1660*, I (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), p.L.

désire d'être «passablement imbu de plusieurs sciences», le goût des vers, la connaissance des langues, - enfin les «dons...et ornements de l'âme», le courage, la probité, la noblesse naturelle des manières, et, couronnant le tout, les vertus chrétiennes'.²⁴ This quotation points to the main characteristics of *honnêteté*. However, contemporary opinions of what it meant to be *honnête* were varied and often contradictory, placing different emphases on aspects of it.²⁵ Some attributed a certain substance and weight to the concept in conceiving of it as 'la pratique permanente et générale du bien', with this good being equated with the practice of Christian morality.²⁶ For others *honnêteté* was merely the equivalent of the *politesse mondaine* required in the *salons* and Court of early modern France.²⁷ This latter conception of *honnêteté* can be understood as the result of the demands of *bienséance* in society superseding those of *le naturel*, two concepts which I discussed in the previous chapter: with the demand for conformity dominating the consequence was that *honnêteté* was not always indicative of honesty or transparency.²⁸ Ruth Whelan notes that Bayle's use of the term is 'multivocal', denoting both '*civilité mondaine* and moral integrity'.²⁹ Thus, Bayle employed it variously to mean both of the definitions that I have provided. It will become evident that in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* the Huguenots, for a specific purpose, invest the concept of *honnêteté* with connotations which deviate somewhat from common usage at the time, in particular conceptions of it in terms of a veneer of politeness. For the purposes of my discussion, it is sufficient to note that in order to be *honnête* it was necessary to adhere to the demands of *bienséance* and *le naturel*. As will become evident, in the pamphlet adherence to these concepts meant that *honnêteté* was an indication that a person acted morally and that their word could be trusted.

On a more practical level, members of the clergy also contributed to the functioning of the state. They influenced state policy, by serving as advisors or

²⁴ Nicolas Faret as cited in Gaston Cayrou, *Le français classique: lexique de la langue du dix-septième siècle expliquant d'après les dictionnaires du temps et les remarques des grammairiens* (Paris: H. Didier, 1923), p.467.

²⁵ See Cayrou, *Le français classique*, pp.465-7.

²⁶ Magendie, *La Politesse Mondaine*, p.L.

²⁷ Magendie, p.L.

²⁸ See, Keohane, *Philosophy and the State in France*, pp.283-4; Tocanne, *L'Idée de Nature en France*, pp.238-40.

²⁹ Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition*, p.90, n.17.

counsellors to the king, notable examples being Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin.³⁰ The hierarchy of the Catholic Church in France also presided over state events such as the coronation and commemorations. The body of the Catholic clergy delivered public addresses to the king at these events. During the reign of Louis XIV, almost every form of representation, be it linguistic or imagistic, was appropriated and controlled by the state to project an image of Louis, the Sun-king, his glorious deeds and the homogenous state that he strove to create.³¹ Religious controversy and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were no exception. As a result, during the reign of Louis XIV, epideictic rhetoric was employed in the panegyrics and dedicatory letters written to the king. As I noted in the introduction, in its earliest conception epideictic rhetoric was supposed to answer the social function of praising virtue and blaming vice, thereby reinforcing moral and social norms. Over the years however, indifference for the accurate dissemination of information in the texts of the epideictic genre developed. As Brian Vickers points out, the epideictic genre, by the seventeenth century, 'had more to do with praise of an outstanding person, rather than with virtue, developing in the process connotations of flattery and insincerity'.³² The reaction to the pervasive practice of dissimulation, be it through rhetoric, artistic representations or behaviour, was not uniform. *Moralistes*, such as La Bruyère, highlighted the *décalage* between external appearances and the reality of a person or event, noting that good taste superseded the demands of moral or religious good.³³ On the one hand, dissimulation was considered necessary and prudent, in the Machiavellian sense, to maintain social order and relationships: it was understood as ritualised behaviour.³⁴ On the other hand, from both a moral and an intellectual perspective, this dissimulation or misrepresentation became considered increasingly suspect and problematic in the later seventeenth century. As Erica Harth notes, citing an anonymous portraitist, 'Flatterers [...] are the types who write panegyrics,

³⁰ See Labrousse, "Une foi, une loi, un roi?": *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, pp.35-8,42-4;

³¹ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, p.102. Pierre Zoberman provides a discussion of the extent to which these actions may be understood as the efforts of a personality cult as distinguished from propaganda. See 'Eloquence and Ideology: Between Image and Propaganda', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, vol.18, 2000, 295-320.

³² Vickers, *In defence of Rhetoric*, p.56.

³³ Christoph Strosetzki, *Rhétorique de la Conversation: sa Dimension littéraire et linguistique dans la société française du XVII^e siècle*, trans. by Sabine Seubert (Paris: Papers on seventeenth-century French Literature, 1984), p.148.

³⁴ Margot Kruse, 'Justification et critique du concept de la dissimulation dans l'oeuvre des moralistes du XVII^e siècle' in Manfred Tietz and Volker Kapp (eds), *La Pensée Religieuse dans la littérature et la civilisation du XVII^e siècle en France*, 147-68, pp.147-8.

'They are the *beaux esprits* who beautify people that nature wanted deformed'.³⁵ As a result, the truth value of panegyrics and their capacity to reinforce public morality were diminished. It is by no means my intention to suggest that it was the state apparatus of Louis XIV's government that forced the Catholic clergy to employ a dishonest discourse in their discussions of conversions. Rather, more in line with Bayle's explanation for La Roque's persistence in the opinion that forced conversions were justified, I would argue that in context of a France that was wholly Catholic it was a representation of events which the clergy 'ne pouvoit pas bonnement abandonner dans le temps où nous vivons'.³⁶

In its turn the state was supposed to protect and defend its Church. The motivation for this could be both religious and political. However, it is not my intention to discuss Louis XIV's motivations to convert the religious minority.³⁷ Rather, I want to show that the alliance between the discourses of the Catholic Church and the state functioned to attempt both to undermine the legitimacy of the Protestant religion and also to place it outside of French society. In line with the centralising and homogenising thrust of the absolutist monarchy, the French language was subject to increased control and codification, particularly following the establishment of the *Académie française* in 1635.³⁸ The Language of Canaan, employed by Huguenots, undermined the aim of the Sun King to establish univocal homogeneity in his territory, which respected the hierarchical structures of that society. By using this language, Huguenots asserted their particularity, placing them outside the discourse of the Catholic Church and therefore also outside the discourse of the court and state apparatus of Louis XIV. This is evident in the dictionary which Louis XIV had commissioned the *Académie française* to compile. The dictionary was intended for the refinement of the language of members of the French court and the nobility: it was to be a guide to the appropriate lexicon of the *honnête homme*.³⁹ Any words or concepts deemed marginal, not conforming to the

³⁵ An extract from 'Portrait de Mademoiselle de Saint-Beuve' in Edouard de Barthélemy (ed.), *Galerie des portraits de Mademoiselle de Montpensier* (Paris: Pillet Fils Aîné, 1860), p.184 as cited in Erica Harth, *Ideology and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Cornell University Press, 1983), p.107.

³⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iv, pp.1325-26.

³⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.93, n.17; Garriçon, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation*, pp.185-88; Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, pp.100-2.

³⁸ Wendy Ayres-Bennett, *A History of the French Language Through Texts* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.12, 178.

³⁹ Michael Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.50.

style noble or which fell outside the desired homogeneity of the absolutist society of Louis XIV were excluded from the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*. Thus, reflecting the desire of the absolutist government of Louis XIV to make France a state in which there was 'un roi, une loi, une foi', the word 'Huguenot' does not appear as an entry in the Académie's *Dictionnaire* of 1694.⁴⁰ By virtue of its omission (or perhaps suppression might be a more appropriate word), the Huguenot religion then was placed outside of the discourse of the *honnête homme*, espoused and promoted by Louis XIV's Catholic France.⁴¹ A more far-reaching and well-known example in the discourse of Louis XIV's government, particularly in legal documents, is that the Huguenot party was referred to as *la Religion Prétendue Réformée*.⁴² Of interest here is the word *prétendu*. The following is the definition for *prétendu* in Furetière's dictionary: 'se dit aussi de ce qui est incertain, qu'une partie pretend vray, dont l'autre partie ne demeure pas d'accord; ce qui n'est ni prouvée ni jugé. Ainsi on dit la Religion Prétendue Réformée'.⁴³ This definition points to the contested nature of the use of the term *réformé* in relation to Protestantism. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* goes yet further, stating that the word *prétendu* 'se conjoint aux choses dont on ne veut pas convenir, aux qualitez fausses ou douteuses' and again providing the example of the so-called reformed religion.⁴⁴ The term *Religion Prétendue Réformée* functioned as a constant reminder that the Huguenot religion was not accepted in Louis XIV's France.

The French state and the Catholic Church in France were thus mutually allied, with each gaining from and contributing to the relationship. The alliance between their discourses meant two things for the Huguenot minority. Firstly, there was no place for the Huguenot discourse, which undermined the univocal homogeneity to which the absolutist state of Louis XIV aspired. Secondly, it meant that as long as the two discourses were allied, Huguenots would not get Catholics to

⁴⁰ On attitudes to the naming the confessions in France see Labrousse, "Une foi, une loi, un roi?": *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, pp.28, 35-6.

⁴¹ There is, however, an entry for 'Huguenot' in Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel* (to which Bayle wrote the preface). The entry briefly informs the reader that 'Huguenot' is the name given in France to those who profess Calvin's heresy. The entry then catalogues the numerous etymologies attributed to the word. Two suggested etymologies are Swiss words. The first, *huesquenaux*, we are told means seditious people. The second, *Eidguesseu*, means ally of the faith. Accepting one or other of these etymologies, illustrates how this even philological activities could become highly political act. In the authoritative discourse of Louis XIV's government, the first etymology would undoubtedly have been accepted.

⁴² Labrousse, "Une foi, une loi, un roi?": *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, pp.28, 35-6.

⁴³ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, II, [Prétendu].

⁴⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, II, [Tendre].

admit the 'terrible *Oüi*', that is to admit to the use of force in the conversion process and to admit that it was wrong to do so.⁴⁵ In order to address these issues, the two Huguenots in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* would have to discredit Catholicism and show that it was damaging the French state rather than helping it.

The first Huguenot undertakes this task by means of the *definitio* that he provides of the wholly Catholic France, where it was possible for forced conversions to occur and for them to be described with words like *doux* and *charité*. The act of *definitio* in the first Huguenot letter is a two-fold process: there is the unmasking of the true nature of Catholicism and thereafter the branding or characterising of it, employing both *paradiastole* and *notatio*. The unmasking of wholly Catholic France is carried out on three main levels in the pamphlet, which correspond with various aspects of the religious controversy.⁴⁶ Firstly, his characterisation of Catholic France can be understood as an attempt to unmask the wolf, that is to show that Catholicism is vice in the garb of virtue and therefore cannot be the religion of Christ. Secondly, by exposing Catholics' dishonest use of language, the first Huguenot brings into question their account of the conversions and thereby pushes them towards an admission of the 'terrible *Oüi*'. Thirdly, a discussion of the influence of Catholicism upon the socio-political domains will prove that is not compatible with and indeed is damaging to French society. At the core of all the first Huguenot's criticisms is Catholics' lack of concern for correlation between the words they employ and what they refer to. He shows this use of language to be problematic both in the religious-moral and socio-political domains and which he sets in contrast to his own use of language. The mobilisation of the concept of language in the pamphlet will be shown to address issues pertaining to the religious controversy upon a polemical level. However, it will be my contention that these criticisms of Catholics' dishonest use of language were also supposed to function on a non-polemical level, and, thus, represent an attempt to address some of the core issues in the religious controversy.

The first Huguenot begins his characterisation or *definitio* of wholly Catholic France with a statement which initially might seem like a concession to the Catholic

⁴⁵ See ch.2, p.90.

⁴⁶ As I mentioned in the introduction, Armstrong also examines the issues pertaining to language that are raised in the pamphlet in order to analyse Bayle's writing strategy. Some of the material that I cover in the following section overlaps with her discussion. See Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', pp.82-7.

representation of France, rather than a rebuttal of it. He says: 'Il est donc vrai, Monsieur, que vous êtes à present en France tous Catholiques'.⁴⁷ However, the first Huguenot's project soon becomes clear. The first Huguenot will accept that France is wholly Catholic, but only under the revised definition or characterisation of Catholic which he provides in his letter. The first Huguenot employs *paradiastole* in order both to explain why this relationship is ill-advised and to discredit Catholics. The moral implications of this act of redefinition are evident when the first Huguenot writes:

il y a si long tems que ceux qui se sont donné ce nom par excellence tiennent une conduite qui fait horreur, qu'un honnête homme devoit régarder comme une injure d'être appelé Catholique, & après ce que vous venez de faire dans le Roiaume très-Chrétien, ce devoit être désormais la même chose que de dire la Religion Catholique & de dire la Religion des malhonnêtes gens.⁴⁸

By this new definition, Catholicism is presented as incompatible with *honnêteté*, which, as I have noted, is one of the key cultural concepts by which behaviour was regulated at the French court. Catholic and 'malhonnête' are established as synonyms. This converts the descriptive term Catholic into an insult. By attributing a negative connotation to the term Catholic, under the image which is provided in the pamphlet of this confession, the first Huguenot can be seen to be attempting to create a coherent sign which accurately reflects '[c]e que c'est que la France toute Catholique'. The accuracy of the first Huguenot's definition is given supported by the considerations about the different styles of the letter-writers in the pamphlet which I discussed in the previous chapter: the first Huguenot has espoused a truth-telling discourse which transparently reflects the nature of what he writes, unlike Catholics' use of rhetoric and language.⁴⁹

This position is reinforced on the basis of the characterisation of Catholics by him. In his letter, Catholics are accused of speaking the language of the Devil, rather than that of Jesus Christ.⁵⁰ The first Huguenot, employing the rhetorical device of *notatio*, marks the Catholic Church with the same two defining features of the Devil, those being 'la mauvaise foi et la violence'.⁵¹ This image is a reference to John 8:44, which reads:

⁴⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.33.

⁴⁸ Bayle, pp.33-4.

⁴⁹ See ch.5, pp.160-7.

⁵⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.38.

⁵¹ Bayle, pp.38, 40.

You belong to your father, that is, the devil, and are eager to gratify the appetites which are your father's. He, from the first, was a murderer; and as for truth in him. When he utters falsehood, he is only uttering what is natural to him; he is all false, and it was he who gave falsehood its birth.⁵²

The first Huguenot characterizes the language of Catholics as a discourse of lies, thereby undermining their claim to adhere to the language of Christ. As Roger Zuber has pointed out, the characteristics of bad faith and violence are presented in the first Huguenot's letter as being almost a second nature to Catholics.⁵³ The first Huguenot, when questioning Catholic authors' descriptions of the conversions states that:

il vaut mieux penser que vôtre mauvaise foi est en cette rencontre un effet de vôtre habitude. Le mensonge vous est devenu si naturel, que vous ne sauriez vous en départir lors même qu'il ne vous est pas trop nécessaire.⁵⁴

Lying and deceit are presented as having been assimilated into the nature of Catholics with the effect that they now do not know how to stop lying, even when it is against their own interests. The first Huguenot emphasises this idea further when he appeals to an Aristotelian metaphor, which, as I noted already, Bayle had employed to comment upon Catholics' behaviour in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.⁵⁵ The first Huguenot poses the question:

Seroit-il bien vrai [...] que vos impostures ne sont pas un effet de vôtre malice, parce que comme les choses ne pesent pas dans leur élément, ainsi le mensonge étant dans vôtre Eglise, comme dans son centre & dans son païs natal, ne s'y fait pas sentir à la conscience.⁵⁶

This quotation raises the question of intentionality as it relates to sin, which was intrinsic to Bayle's defence of the rights of the erring conscience.⁵⁷ Can Catholics really be held culpable for their actions if their consciences do not register their behaviour and their use of language as being immoral? However, the issue of intentionality is not a predominant concern of the first Huguenot. Rather, he employs this metaphor to illustrate how deeply and profoundly corrupt the Catholic Church is. The first Huguenot's characterisation of the language of the Catholic Church as being really that of the Devil can be understood as polemic that attempts to discredit their claim over the title 'true religion'.

The first Huguenot substantiates his claim that the Catholic Church in France speaks the language of the Devil on two main grounds. Firstly, he attempts to show

⁵² *New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Newly Translated from the Vulgate Latin*, trans. by R.A. Knox, p.209.

⁵³ Zuber, 'L'Écriture Comique' in Bots, and Posthumus Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, pp.168-9.

⁵⁴ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.35.

⁵⁵ See ch.2, p.95.

⁵⁶ Bayle, p.41.

⁵⁷ Lennon, *Reading Bayle*, p.63.

that the behaviour of Catholics was not consonant with Christian morality. Secondly, he attempts to show that their use of language, in particular their use of the rhetorical device of *paradiastole* was deceitful. In the context of religious controversy, this project of truth-telling by the Huguenot can be seen as an effort at exposing Catholics for having disguised their true nature by employing evaluative-descriptive words with positive moral connotations, rather than ones with negative connotations.

In the Catholic canon's letter, as well as in the writings of Catholic authors whom I have discussed in the course of this thesis, the terms 'zelé', 'charitable' and 'doux' were often used to describe the conversions of the Huguenots. Each of these terms had positive connotations which in some of their uses reflected the spirit of the Gospel. *Zèle* is a concept of biblical origin, which describes the ardour or love which one has of religion: 'And his disciples remembered how it is written, I am consumed with jealousy for the honour of they house'.⁵⁸ By the seventeenth century the word zeal had, it must be noted, accrued ambiguous connotations, although this is not evident in the dictionaries of the time. In the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* and Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel*, *zèle* is similarly glossed as 'Affection ardente pour quelque chose'.⁵⁹ On the other hand, *faux zèle* is explained as 'Le zeile qui n'a pas la veritable religion pour but'. Whereas *zèle indiscret* is 'Un zeile qui n'est pas réglé par la prudence',⁶⁰ 'corriger son prochain avec scandale'.⁶¹ Zeal was intended to carry its positive connotations, when employed in reference to the conversion of the Huguenots by the Catholic authors, who were criticised in the pamphlet.

Charity, one of the three cardinal virtues, enjoined man to love of his fellow man. Performing acts of charity were one of the ways in which a person could demonstrate zeal for their religion. In Christian doctrine, it was considered a duty in the spirit of *caritas*, not to let another person live in the error of heresy, thereby damning their soul for all eternity. Moreover, for both Catholics and Huguenots, to abandon heretics was to fail in one's duties as a Christian.⁶² It was fundamental to

⁵⁸ John 2:17 as in *New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Newly Translated from the Vulgate Latin*, trans. by R.A. Knox, p.188. See also: Psalm 69, 9.

⁵⁹ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, II, [Zele].

⁶⁰ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, II [Zele].

⁶¹ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, II [Zèle].

⁶² Richard H. Dees, 'Establishing Toleration', *Political Theory*, vol.27, 5, 667-93, p. 672. See also Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp.1-2.

the early modern understanding to conceive of one's earthly life in the context of the eternal afterlife: the suffering which one might endure in resisting temptation and adhering to the strictures of Christian teaching in this life would ultimately be rewarded in the afterlife with eternal salvation in heaven. Although, in practice, the fear or concern for one's afterlife did not always translate into immaculate behaviour, in theory concern for the afterlife was supposed to outrank any considerations for one's temporal life. Attempting to secure eternal salvation was considered the ultimate good and purpose of this life. Furthermore, there was justification of a kind of *caritas* which was severe and which employed force. The Catholic canon, like La Roque and many others before him, appealed particularly to the comments of Church Fathers such as Augustine of Hippo.⁶³ Hence, the Catholic canon, employing *paradiastole*, relegates the harm done to the Huguenots on earth to being very much a secondary and minor concern, writing that: 'ce n'est que pour vous sauver éternellement que l'on vous prive de quelques commoditez temporelles'.⁶⁴ The morality of the action is recast on the basis of an eternal good rather, than worldly concerns or laws. However, as is evident both in the Catholic canon's letter and in some of the writings which I discussed in Bayle's disputes with La Roque, the legitimacy and true efficacy of force in the conversion process was not uncontested. This would explain the reluctance on the part of some Catholic authors to admit to the use of force and their insistence upon employing the adjective 'doux' to describe the methods used in the conversion process.

In their letters, the two Huguenots question Catholics' use of the words 'zeal', 'charity' and 'gentle' with their positive connotations. The first Huguenot attaches the qualifier 'prétendu' to describe the zeal of Catholics. In this instance, the qualifier functions, as it does in the phrase 'la religion prétendue réformée', to question the accuracy of the descriptor to reflect both the motivation of Catholics and the impact of the conversions. In stark contrast to the Catholics' claim, the first Huguenot insists that the Catholic clergy's promotion of the conversions of Huguenots was prompted by self-interest. He claims:

Vos Prêtres & vos Moines sont des imposteurs, qui ne meritent aucune créance en rien, qui sont vendus à l'iniquité, & qui prêchèroient dans 3. jours une croisade pour le Mahométisme, si la Cour les envoioit pour cela à la suite des Dragons.⁶⁵

⁶³ See ch.2, pp.73-4.

⁶⁴ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, pp.32-3.

⁶⁵ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.40.

The Catholic clergy is presented as being willing to do almost anything in order to secure favour and their position at court. The first Huguenot draws upon the long established idea of false zeal of the *hypocrite*, as dramatised in Molière's *Tartuffe*. The first Huguenot employs a discourse which is saturated with accusations of insincerity and hypocrisy to describe the false zeal of Catholics:

Et malheureux que vous êtes, si vous avez tant de zèle pour le salut des autres, que n'en avez-vous pour vous même; pourquoi vivez-vous si mal, pourquoi êtes-vous le scandale de tout le peuple par vos impudicitez, & par votre mondanité, pourquoi emploiez-vous les biens qui ont été donnez si mal à propos à l'Eglise, mais néanmoins avec de très-bonnes intentions, à mener une vie molle, efféminée, dans le luxe, dans la bonne chere, Carrosses, équipages, toujours à Versailles, Concerts, Festins &c. pourquoi faut-il, que plus vous êtes plongez dans ces profanes & vilains engagements, plus vous persécutez les autres Religions? Est-ce pour expier vos crimes?⁶⁶

The persecution would have been more bearable, the first Huguenot maintains, if it were the work of those who adhere strictly to morality, like Trappist monks.⁶⁷ As it is, the first Huguenot states, the dragoons, at the behest of the Catholic clergy were to be '*Un Anatheme, sans Dieu, sans foi, sans C[h]rême et sans Baptême*'.⁶⁸ This highlights the notoriety of the soldiers, but also asserts that the dragoons were in no way inspired by true religious zeal as they were entirely devoid of God and faith. Based on this, the first Huguenot, employing *paradiastole*, supplants the negative connotations associated with *faux zèle* and *zèle indiscret* onto the connotations of zeal, as employed by Catholics in order to provide a description of the conversions which is more in line with the truth as he sees it. Thus, the conversions are motivated by neither religious conviction nor concern. This argument is reinforced in the first Huguenot's letter by his repeated assertion that Catholics were concerned only to obtain external adherence to their confession, rather than bringing about the true conversion of Huguenots. He alleges that:

pourvû qu'on signe & que l'on aille à la Messe, vous laissez croire à vos convertis tout ce qu'il leur plaît, & vous vous consolez sur ce qu'aumoins leurs petits enfans seront, par l'instruction machinale, dans l'état où vous souhaitez les gens.⁶⁹

The implication of this statement is that Catholics' conversion efforts will not benefit the present generation at all, thereby negating their claim to be concerned for the salvation of Huguenots. Finally, the first Huguenot insists that the behaviour of Catholics in the conversion process was not conducive to proving the morality of their confession in order to persuade Huguenots to convert. He asserts that the

⁶⁶ Bayle, p.64.

⁶⁷ Bayle, p.64.

⁶⁸ The first Huguenot quotes an unidentified Catholic author. Bayle, p.64.

⁶⁹ Bayle, p.40.

formulaire d'abjuration were not signed 'de bon gré' and that in extorting both the claim to have converted and the fact that it was done willingly Catholics were guilty of an 'autre violence, autre perfidie'.⁷⁰ Ultimately, this behaviour is supposed to have caused any moral person to be yet further reviled by Catholicism:

Ces injustices palpables, basses, & honteuses, ne faisoient qu'aliéner les esprits, excepté quand un homme, qui n'avoit point de Religion, vendoit sa profession extérieure le mieux qu'il lui étoit possible. C'est assurément un bon moyen de gagner un homme à une Religion, qu'il croit Idolatre, de lui faire voir qu'elle se sert, outre cela, de la fraude de la supercherie pour s'agrandir, qu'elle fait une foire d'ames, ou plutôt de gestes extérieurs, où elle achete les uns deux écûs, les autres une pistole, & ainsi du reste.⁷¹

The methods of Catholics were presented as being counter-productive in respect of those who have a good sense of morality. He asserts that the injustices carried out by Catholics would not persuade people to convert unless they were already corrupt. This assertion leads to the Huguenot's second attack. The conversions are presented as being in these cases nothing more than a *foire d'ames*. This is a reference to the *Caisse des Économats*, suggested by Paul Pellisson, which among other monetary incentives, such as granting delays in payments of debts to Huguenots (1676, 1681), or exemptions from tax payments for a number of years (April 1681), was considered to be one of the most disreputable methods of obtaining conversions.⁷² With this comment the first Huguenot both attacked Catholics and also devalued the conversions which he presents as being superficial. He attempted to prove that Catholics' conversion methods would serve only to make hypocrites, because there was no correlation between the internal persuasion and the external appearance of those who converted. Therefore, in this instance, dissonance between the sign and the referent was indicative of immoral behaviour. The Catholic clergy is consequently charged with promoting or at least allowing behaviour which was inconsistent with the teachings of the Gospel in those whom it was supposedly converting so as to save them from eternal damnation. Having exposed the immorality and self-interest of the Catholic clergy in addition to having shown that the conversions were not true, the first Huguenot presents it as performing a perverted form of its pastoral duty, which is not consistent with the demands of true religious zeal. This argument functions in the confessional dispute to suggest that Catholics' behaviour did not correlate with the language of Christ.

⁷⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.51.

⁷¹ Bayle, p.50.

⁷² Garrisson, *L'Edit de Nantes et sa Révocation*, pp.136-137. For contemporary justification for monetary incentives see Gautereau, *La France toute Catholique*, I, p.30; II, p.160.

The accusation that Catholics were speaking the language of the Devil was also substantiated by a discussion of their descriptions of the conversions and the consequences of them. The argument focuses in particular upon the impact of Catholics' dishonest accounts of the conversions. The first Huguenot accuses Catholics, saying:

vous avez rempli nos maisons de soldats & après avoir commis cent cruautés, vous soutenez avec la dernière effronterie qu'on n'a usé que des voies de la douceur. Vous écrivez cela par tout, vous en faites la matière de vos panégyriques, de vos sermons, & de vos Epîtres Dedicatoires, & personne parmi-vous n'ose témoigner ou qu'il ne croit pas que tout se soit passé doucement, ou qu'il blâme ceux qui le soutiennent.⁷³

The first Huguenot, as Bayle had done in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, takes issue with the incongruity between the actions of Catholics and their accounts of what happened. He attempts to elicit the 'terrible *Oüi*' from Catholics by arguing that their prevarication was not compatible with their pastoral duty. He takes issue with their use of flattery in particular. He writes:

il seroit à souhaiter que vos flateries, si indignes de gens qui sont appelés à corriger les autres de leurs défauts, & non pas à les encenser, si indignes même d'un homme grave, & qui ne veut pas faire le Poëte Espagnol en prose sérieuse, fussent réduites à se cacher, comme vous dites faussement que le vice y est réduit.⁷⁴

Rather than encouraging morality and good deeds, Catholics' use of rhetoric, in particular *paradiastole*, to re-dress vice in the garb of virtue does the opposite, or to put it another way, they beautified that which nature wanted deformed.⁷⁵

The first Huguenot points to the consequences of Catholics' persistent use of evaluative-descriptive terms such as charitable or gentle in reference to acts of violence or deceit. The first Huguenot argues that their misattribution of the term zeal has resulted in a degradation of the concept. He writes: 'vous dégoûtez un honnête-homme d'avoir du zèle, par le mauvais usage que vous faites du vôtre, supposé que vous en aiez'.⁷⁶ Not only does this assert that the kind of zeal espoused by Catholics was not compatible with *honnêteté* and therefore the strictures of contemporary French culture for appropriate behaviour (a point to which I will return shortly), it also presents Catholic discourse as discouraging people from actions which promote their religion. Catholics' use of the word to describe the conversions has resulted in it acquiring negative connotations, so that zeal, like the

⁷³ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.39.

⁷⁴ Bayle, p.66.

⁷⁵ The last clause of this sentence is an echo from a quotation about flatterers in Harth, *Ideology and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France*, p.107.

⁷⁶ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.65.

word 'catholic', was no longer perceived as a good characteristic. This justifies the first Huguenot's re-description of the word Catholic by means of *paradiastole*. Moreover, it suggests that the use of evaluative-descriptive terms, which normally have positive connotations, in reference to acts of violence or dishonesty results in the alteration of the meaning or moral connotations of those words.

In a seemingly contradictory argument, but one which was also employed by Bayle in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, the first Huguenot also asserts that as a result of Catholics' persistent use of this deceptive rhetoric, rather than the moral significance of the concept being altered, the moral compass and temperaments of those exposed to it will be skewed.⁷⁷ The first Huguenot cites the insistence of Catholic authors that the cruel ransackings in the Spanish Netherlands were not acts of hostility as an example. He argues that because of this dishonest use of language 'il faut qu'à present les violences ne vous coûtent rien, & qu'elles soient bien excessives lors que vous les croiez dignes de ce nom-là'.⁷⁸ Thus, repeated exposure to Catholics' way of presenting or justifying actions would make a person less likely to recognise an act of violence as such unless it was extremely violent. Consequently, it is argued, it could be no surprise that 'tout ce qu'ont fait vos soldats chez ceux de la Réligion, passe dans vôtre bouche pour des actes de civilité, & de charité'.⁷⁹ This misattribution of signs to referents or the use of deceitful re-descriptions by the Catholic clergy is presented as morally problematic because it means that a different scale of measure is now being employed by the members of their confession to that employed by those outside of it. The moral equivocations of the Catholic clergy are presented as being so abominable that even pagans such as Cicero, Tiberius and Aesop would reject and condemn them.⁸⁰ Thus, the Catholic clergy is presented as having fallen so far from a basic standard measure of morality that even pagans, whose morality was founded on natural law, like deists, rather than revealed religion, would reject it.

The first Huguenot's castigation of flattery in the mouths of the clergy functions on the level of religious polemic, presenting Catholics as inculcating immorality and thereby undermining their claim to be the one true religion. These criticisms serve also to push Catholics towards an admission of the 'terrible *Oüü*'. By

⁷⁷ See ch. 2, pp.99-100.

⁷⁸ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.41.

⁷⁹ Bayle, p.43.

⁸⁰ Bayle, p.42.

branding the language of Catholics as that of the Devil, the first Huguenot is goading them towards a more honest use of language which does not exploit the ambiguous and polysemic nature of language: that is, that Catholics would use the appropriate sign to designate a given and inter-subjectively understood referent. Such a use of language would help to further his effort to get Catholics to admit that the conversions were forced and that to do so was wrong.

Thus far, I have discussed two ways in which the first Huguenot's criticism of Catholics' dishonest discourse, in particular their use of *paradiastole* to both justify and deny the use of force in religious conversions, can be understood to be engaging with the religious controversy: those are the exposure of the vice of the Catholic Church and the effort to convince Catholics to acknowledge the truth of the Huguenot accounts of the conversions. I will now discuss the first Huguenot's third criticism of Catholics. The first Huguenot's argument is focused on the fact that, as Armstrong has pointed out, they were 'not only recommending, but engaging in a discourse that occludes the passage of reality into words'.⁸¹ It is the use of such obscurantist language which Bost suggests that Bayle wanted to eradicate by enforcing an 'éthique de la parole' for use by those writing histories. The purpose of the Huguenot letters, then, was to show the problems with Catholics' dishonest use of language. In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss the way in which Catholics' use of language was shown to be problematic for the functioning of the socio-political domain and ultimately for France being a wholly Catholic nation.

Towards the opening of his letter the first Huguenot asserts, on the basis of his paradiastolic re-description of the term Catholic with negative connotations, that 'on n'envieroit point à LA FRANCE, D'ETRE TOUTE CATHOLIQUE SOUS LE REGNE DE LOUIS LE GRAND'.⁸² His letter then discusses the implications of Catholicism being the dominant, indeed supposedly the only, religion in France. In the religious controversy, the two confessions attempted to prove that the other was incompatible with and even was a danger to French society. In order to spur the king and his advisors to the necessity of converting the Huguenot minority, the dominant Catholics had recourse to the contemporary understanding that religious unity was necessary in order to ensure the stability of society which complemented the homogenising tendencies of Louis XIV's absolutist government, as noted above.

⁸¹ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', p.77.

⁸² Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, pp.33-4.

Catholics also attempted to paint Huguenots as unfaithful and disloyal subjects. Heretics were deemed by both sides to be untrustworthy, which called into question their ability to function on a basic level in a society based upon reputation. Yet more serious were the accusations of republicanism and sedition against Huguenots. Catholic authors argued that the synodical structure of the Reformed Church was evidence of its republican tendencies, which were in direct contrast with the monarchical government in France. The charge of sedition was levelled on two accounts: firstly, the actions of the Huguenots in the Wars of Religion and secondly, the contemporary writings of Huguenot authors against the conversions.⁸³ All of these accusations served to cast Huguenots as a danger to the body politic in France and thereby to confirm the primacy of the Catholic Church.

Huguenots, in their turn, attempted to paint Catholics, in particular those of the Society of Jesus, as the danger to French society. Huguenots pointed out that, because of their oath of loyalty to the pope, Jesuits could not be trusted as much as Protestants whose loyalty was to the king alone. Catholics found it difficult to deny this after the Pope decreed that Catholics should not take the Oath of Allegiance in England.⁸⁴ In addition to this, Huguenots accused the Jesuits of condoning regicide, by reminding people of the expulsion of that order from France following the attempted assassination of Henri IV, purportedly by Jean Chastel, who had been one of their students.⁸⁵ These arguments were intended to show that it was in fact Catholics who could not be trusted as subjects, thereby debunking the same charge against Huguenots. Although there is one reference towards this line of accusation in the first Huguenot's letter, the main substance of his criticisms focused upon the implications of the dishonest discourse attributed to Catholics for the functioning of French society.⁸⁶

Catholics' use of the epideictic genre, in particular their use of flattery, in their discussions of the conversions is presented as creating problems of communication. This point is made with reference to a harangue which Jean-Baptiste Colbert made to the king in the name of the *Assemblée du Clergé* in July

⁸³ On the discussion of the wars of religion in the religious controversy see Israel's Perry, *From Theology to History*, pp.192-201; On the accusation of sedition against contemporary Huguenot authors see discussion of La Roque's criticism in ch.3, pp.107-8.

⁸⁴ Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 314, 338.

⁸⁵ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, pp.111-112, n.87.

⁸⁶ Bayle, p.55.

1685 at Versailles.⁸⁷ Colbert delivered the harangue when the dragoons were in full force in the south of France and yet described the king's methods of conversion as a 'chemin semé de fleurs'.⁸⁸ Although not marked as such, the first Huguenot is actually quoting directly from that oration when he states that the clergy maintained: 'C'est un honneur maintenant de pratiquer la vertu, et si le vice n'est pas tout à fait détruit, au moins est-il réduit à se cacher'.⁸⁹ Thus, Colbert employs the same deceitful language which the first Huguenot has accused the clergy of espousing. Indeed the first Huguenot categorises the harangue as flattery, which is so exaggerated that even a pagan poet would not have dared to write it. With this claim he suggests that even pagans have better morals than Catholics in France because they recognized that flattery can be taken to a point of abuse. Beyond the domain of religious polemic, the Huguenot raises the issue of how employing such a blatantly deceitful rhetoric would impact upon reputation of Catholics. He argues that their authors are corrupting their own characters and rendering their reputations precarious by failing in their responsibility to deal in good faith with others. The use of morally positive evaluative-descriptive terms to cast acts of violence and dishonesty in a better light shows no concern for the comprehension of readers or the audience. The first Huguenot asks: 'N'est-ce point prostituer vôtre caractere, la bonne-foi, & les égards qu'on doit au public, que de parler de ce ton-là en Cor[p]s de Députation, & de le faire imprimer?'⁹⁰ Catholics' neglect of the 'égards' towards others suggests that in their use of language they do not respect the demands of *bienséance*.

Such a use of language is presented as problematic on two grounds. Firstly, the authors are presented as being willing to sell their word(s). The verb ' prostituer' resonates with examples provided in the opening section of the first Huguenot's letter, where he attempts to show the extent of the moral degeneration in France with reference in particular to women who had acted in bad faith for their own self-interest.⁹¹ One contemporary and one example from antiquity are provided by the first Huguenot. The contemporary example is the women in Roger de Rabutin,

⁸⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.65. Colbert's *Harangue faite au roi à Versailles*, 21 July 1685, Racine. See Racine, *Œuvres Complètes*, II: Prose, ed. by Raymond Picard, (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), p.1063, n.1.

⁸⁸ Racine, *Œuvres Complètes*, II: Prose, ed. by Raymond Picard, p.353.

⁸⁹ Racine, p.354.

⁹⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.65.

⁹¹ Bayle, p.36.

Comte de Bussy's *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*, the manuscript of which was published in 1665 without Bussy-Rabutin's permission. The text exposed the *free* lives led by certain women in the Court, who, according to Bussy-Rabutin, became mistress to the highest bidder or bidders. The reference in the pamphlet is intended to highlight the moral depravity of the members of the Court and also emphasises the attempts of these mistresses to hide or justify their behaviour to their husbands and the public. Throughout Bussy-Rabutin's text, these women claim modesty and faithfulness to their lovers but their actions betray to the reader the absolute opposite. This is exactly what the Huguenot asserted that Catholics were doing in relation to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The reference from antiquity is to Helen of Troy's betrayal of Deiphobus in order to appease her first husband Menelaus. These would have both been well-known examples of treachery, deceit and disloyalty at the time and functioned in the pamphlet to attribute these qualities to the Catholic Church, which was presented as the mistress rather than the true wife of Christ.⁹² This renders the words of these people completely untrustworthy. The point here is to show that if Catholics in France continue to employ such language they will earn a reputation for being people who cannot be trusted to act in good faith. Consequently, the first Huguenot pleads with them:

puis que vous vous servez d'une langue humaine, aussi-bien que les autres Nations, ne donnez pas aux mots un sens different de celui que les autres Nations leur donnent, ou bien avertissez le monde que vous ne prétendez pas parler comme font les autres; dites nous comment vous définissez les mots, & ce que c'est parmi-vous que violence, hostilité, rupture de paix; car vous confondez tellement ces termes, qu'on n'entend plus rien dans votre jargon.⁹³

The choice of the word 'jargon' to describe the language employed by Catholics is interesting. The term 'jargon' was used to describe 'une langue factice, dont les gens d'une même cabale conviennent afin qu'on ne les entend pas'.⁹⁴ If the Huguenot intended this meaning, he was again attempting to undermine the Catholic Church's claim to be the one true church since the word 'Catholic' also meant 'universal' and this was considered one of the marks of the true Church. In Jean Pic's *Discours de la bienséance*, the term 'jargon' is used to reflect how civility is a veneer which does not reflect one person's opinion of another or one's intentions: the use of such

⁹² Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.37.

⁹³ Bayle, p.43.

⁹⁴ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, I [Jargon].

dissimulative civility neglects the demands of *bienséance*.⁹⁵ Thus, *jargon* is a wilfully deceitful use of language. As Armstrong, echoing Zuber, points out: 'The seventeenth-century reader would no doubt have recognized the lineage between the *Lettres Provinciales*, in which Pascal offers a pointed and indefatigable dissection of Jesuit casuistry, and this aspect of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, for the Protestant's critique of Catholic jargon is one of casuistry'.⁹⁶ The first Huguenot's plea, picking up on the contemporary concern with *le bon usage*, suggests that because Catholics have deviated from the common usage of particular words, their language has become impenetrable: Catholics are presented as having exploited the flexibility of language and the social construction of meaning to such an extent that it undermines the language system as a whole. If Catholics wish others to understand them, the first Huguenot argues, it is necessary to make this deviation known to one's interlocuter. Language, then, as an effective means of communication must be based upon an intersubjective understanding of what sense to give to words, and how they can and should be used. In the *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique Générale*, Bayle employed a similar argument, acknowledging that the source of it is *La Logique de Port-Royal*.⁹⁷ Catholics' flaunting of the conventions both of society and of language use are presented as inhibiting communication, and also preventing the establishment of relationships based upon trust. By pointing to these pitfalls, the first Huguenot's letter can be interpreted as pushing Catholics not only towards the use of a more honest discourse which would acknowledge the fact of the use of force in the conversions and the opinion that to do so was wrong, but also towards the use of an intersubjective use of language, whereby both confessions would agree as to the appropriate use of evaluative-descriptive terms such as charity or zeal.

The Catholic clergy in France is presented as having an undue influence upon French society in several ways. The first Huguenot argues that the use of deceitful rhetoric which, as I have discussed, recasts vice as virtue, is problematic:

Dépuis que les Princes, amorcez par les loüanges immodérées des gens de vôtre caractère, & enchainez par leurs beaux discours captieux & insidieux, les ont fait régorgger de biens, & leur ont donné entrée familière dans leurs Palais, ils y ont fait plus de mal que les Courtisans, & c'est par-là

⁹⁵ Jean Pic, *Discours de la bienséance avec des maximes et des réflexions très importantes et très nécessaires pour réduire cette vertu en usage* (Paris: Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy, 1690), p.37. See also Dens, *L'Honnête Homme et la Critique du Goût*, p.116.

⁹⁶ Armstrong, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle', p.83.

⁹⁷ Bayle, *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique Générale*, p.384.

que s'est introduit l'esprit de persécution qui a fait tant de ravages, & qui finalement a converti le Christianisme en Eglise Romaine, c'est-à-dire, en Eglise meurtrière & menteuse.⁹⁸

The terms employed to describe the impact of flattery upon the King are telling. The first Huguenot's depiction of the power of rhetoric and the abuse to which it could lead had been commonplace since Antiquity.⁹⁹ The first Huguenot presents the king, here under the guise of Princes in the plural, as *amorcez* and *enchainez* by the rhetoric of the Catholic clergy and thus having no other choice than to accede to their will. The Catholic clergy thus stands accused of tempting the king with glory. The king was constrained by the beauty of the clergy's deceitful rhetoric. 'Captieux' and 'insidieux' were approximate synonyms and are here employed as a word-pair, which was a common rhetorical device used for the purpose of creating emphasis. In the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*, 'captieux' is explained in a specifically rhetorical context in which the beauty of an idea or discourse dazzles a person. This kind of rhetoric functions by distracting or blinding those listening with beauty, and thereby impairing their judgment. It is perhaps for this association with darkness, rather than light that, in Furetière's dictionary, this kind of rhetoric is explicitly associated with the variety of language employed by heretics.¹⁰⁰ Given the context of its use, it seems likely that the first Huguenot intended the negative connotation noted in Furetière's dictionary, and thus wanted to cast the Catholic clergy as those whose use of language is unethical, immoral and most importantly unchristian: a clergy that is blinding rather than enlightening is not properly fulfilling its function. More importantly, the rhetoric employed by the clergy is presented as having an unduly powerful influence over the king and French society. The first Huguenot writes that too much authority was given to those 'qui ne devoient se mêler que de leur

⁹⁸ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.67.

⁹⁹ Indeed, in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Bayle discusses the almost supernatural power that rhetoric was understood to have. In the article *Ligarius*, Bayle notes that one of Cicero's harangues influenced Caesar to such an extent that he overturned his previous decision. To describe the effect of the harangue, Bayle wrote: 'On ne peut rien voir de plus beau que cette Harangue. Pomponius Atticus en fut charmé.' Then, in a quotation from the Jesuit writer, Père René Rapin, the effect of Cicero's discourse on Caesar is described as follows '& comme s'il [Caesar] eust esté enchanté du discours de Ciceron, il laissa tomber des papiers qu'il avoit entre les mains'. *Charmé* was undoubtedly commonly employed simply to describe the effect of something which pleased one greatly. However, *charmer* also had negative connotations, meaning 'faire quelque effet merveilleux par la puissance des charmes ou du Demon'. The evocation of this definition is by no means to suggest that Bayle attributed any form of supernatural powers to the art of classical rhetoric. What I wish to suggest is merely that, considering his use of *charmé* coupled with *enchanté*, it seems plausible that Bayle was aware that rhetoric was often so powerfully employed that reason and logic became destitute in the face of a highly emotive speech. The consequence of this is that emotion rather than reason dictates one's decision. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, II, p.300 a.

¹⁰⁰ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, I, [Captieux]

Brêviaire'.¹⁰¹ Although there is no explicit discussion of what the relationship between a religion and the government should be in the pamphlet, the comments in the first Huguenot letter highlight as a concern the necessity to limit the role of Catholic clergy in the socio-political domains in France because of the consequences of its dishonest use of language.¹⁰²

The influence of the Catholic clergy is presented as problematic because it introduced the 'esprit de persecution' into French society. The first Huguenot wrote :

je n'en trouve pas de plus criminels que ceux de vôtre ordre, puis que leurs continuelles sollicitations, leurs Harangues, leurs panegîriques, leurs députations en Corps, leurs basses flateries ont été une huile continuelle qui a nourri le feu de la persécution chicaneuse & qui a enfin allumé la persecution Dragonne.¹⁰³

The Catholic clergy is blamed for encouraging and condoning the persecutions. Although there is nothing to suggest that the phrase 'huile continuelle' was intended to have a scriptural resonance, it is interesting to note that when the concept of charity is exemplified in the actions of the Good Samaritan, he used oil to heal the wound of the stranger. In contrast to this, the Catholic clergy in France is presented as employing it to cause harm. Regardless of whether this contrast was intended, the first Huguenot points to the incompatibility of the two kinds of methods of persecution to Christian morality. The 'persecution chicaneuse' was indicative of the bad faith of Catholics, while the 'persecution Dragonne' exposed their violence. In terms of the polemic of the religious controversy, the first Huguenot, again employing the rhetorical device of *notatio*, stamps the marks of the Devil upon the actions that Catholics encouraged. In terms of the influence of Catholicism on society, its dishonest discourse is presented as the cause of the violence and disruption and of the persecution of Huguenots. This argument that the intolerance of Catholics was the cause of upset in French society stands in contrast to the contemporary orthodox view which held that its cause was the fracturing of social unity by heretics. Furthermore, the Catholic clergy's use of flattery introduced the 'esprit de persecution' into French society. The result of this was that none of Louis XIV's advisors spoke out against the persecutions. At the start of his letter, the first Huguenot wrote:

¹⁰¹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.35.

¹⁰² Bayle was in favour of strong absolutist government which could ensure stability and public order and resist the influence of interested parties such as religious factions. On this see Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle*, II, pp.480-1.

¹⁰³ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.35.

Vous avez donc été tous les complices de ces crimes? Ceux qui ne les ont pas commis, les ont conseillés, ou loüez, ou du moins ne les ont pas desapprouvez & ont eu de la joie de les voir commettre. Ainsi vous avez tous été, sans en excepter un seul, de très-mal-honnêtes gens.¹⁰⁴

The first Huguenot, using *paradiastole*, had already established the synonymy of the words *malhonnête* and Catholic. Therefore he was accusing the office holders of being tarnished by the perverted form of Christianity which he argues has been taught by the Catholic clergy in France. One of the effects of this was that they have failed to give good counsel to the king, who, the first Huguenot, employing a standard trope, insists would have been willing to listen to advice given in the appropriate manner. The dominance of the language of Catholics in France, which does not permit adherence to the rules of *honnêteté*, is presented as creating several problems for the functioning of the socio-political domain.

The first Huguenot makes it clear that he is not so naive as to think that lies and deceit have no place in the domain of worldly politics, stating:

Je vous avouë que la Politique humaine permet la dissimulation & la tromperie, & qu'un Roi qui sait persuader à ses voisins qu'il n'a pas dessein de leur nuire, quoi qu'il y travaille fortement, est loüé selon les maximes du monde, lors que ces deguisemens sont necessaires, & qu'une conduite franche exposerait le Roiaume à un puissant ennemi.¹⁰⁵

This comment reflects the understanding in France that two moralities, one in the political domain and the other for individual behaviour, were recognised as admissible.¹⁰⁶ The moral system which governed individual behaviour was, according to Keohane, based on Neo-Stoicism with Epicurean strains. Political action was to be directed according to *raison d'état*. Bayle, who was in favour of strong monarchy, recognised the necessity for deceit and even the use of violence in the political realm.¹⁰⁷ Bayle was aware that a state could not effectively be run and maintained which adhered to the demands of Christian morality. In the pamphlet, the first Huguenot places a proviso on the use of deceit, even in worldly matters. He insists that they should be used only when necessary to secure the state. To do otherwise, in particular to 'un innocent qui répose sur la bonne-foi, qui fait tout ce qu'on peut attendre d'un sujet fidelle, c'est une action qui crie vengeance, & devant Dieu, & devant les hommes'.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the first Huguenot insists that the use of lies against a loyal subject acting in good faith is culpable before both the courts of God and man.

¹⁰⁴ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.35.

¹⁰⁵ Bayle, p.48.

¹⁰⁶ Keohane, *Philosophy and the State in France*, p.119.

¹⁰⁷ Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle: Hétérodoxie et rigorisme*, pp.476-80.

¹⁰⁸ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.48.

The first Huguenot points to the gravity of the implications of Catholics condoning and encouraging the breaking of one's word, particularly in a society in which a lot of currency is placed upon it and in which religion was, as previously discussed, one of the primary means by which truth and good faith of a person's word were supposed to be regulated. The criticism of acting in bad faith by breaking one's word functions similarly to that of Catholic's description of the persecution with positive evaluative-descriptive terms. Several instances of public declarations of intent such as the prefaces to the laws and bills passed which legislated about the members of *la Religion Prétendue Réformée* are shown to be belied by their later actions or words. Both oaths and declarations of intent can be understood as a particular kind of speech-act, which J.L. Austin has called a performative utterance.¹⁰⁹ Without getting into the complexities of modern debates about the performativity of language, at their most basic level performative utterances are not constative and cannot be evaluated on a true/false basis.¹¹⁰ Rather, in a performative utterance, an action occurs, as in the 'I dos' of a wedding ceremony. In a case where the person swearing or promising has no intention of keeping to their word, or ultimately cannot abide by it, the utterance is not to be deemed false, but rather to be 'infelicitous'. Thus, again there is dissonance between that which is being signified and the words employed to signify it.

The first Huguenot accuses Catholics of repeatedly uttering performative speech-acts in 'infelicitous' conditions. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is held up as a conspicuous example of this because in direct contradiction to the prefaces of the preceding bills which declared that 'l'intention de sa Majesté étoit, de nous maintenir dans la paisible jouissance des Edits de pacification', the preface to the former claimed that the king 'a eu pour bût, toute sa vie, de supprimer & de révoquer celui de Nantes'.¹¹¹ Presumably, in a strategic move, the first Huguenot refuses to dispute whether the persistent deception of his co-religionists could be justified as a legitimate punishment for the faults of their ancestors. He almost concedes this terrain in order to challenge Catholics with an example which he thinks a stronger arguing point. He shifts the focus from those who had been subjects of the French

¹⁰⁹ I am employing the vocabulary associated with the speech-act theory of J.L. Austin. See Introduction, p.32.

¹¹⁰ For a discussion of uses and meanings of the terms performative and performativity by modern theorists see J. Hillis Miller, *For Derrida* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009), pp.133-73.

¹¹¹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.52.

king when following the civil unrest the various edicts of pacification were signed to those who became subjects thereafter. He provides the example of Sedan, which was ceded to the king of France in 1642 under the condition (among others) that the Protestant religion would enjoy the same rights and privileges which it had previously. Nonetheless, the people of Sedan, the first Huguenot insists, were subject to the same persecution as the others. Thus, the king is presented as breaking his word even to those who were not deserving of the punishment, which the first Huguenot had conceded might have been legitimately exacted against his own subjects. However, it is the Catholic clergy in France which is held ultimately culpable because it encouraged and condoned this behaviour with various justifications. In the case of the edicts of pacification, Catholics argued that they cannot be held to them because they were exacted with the threat of force.¹¹² In general, it was also argued that it was not necessary for the king to keep a promise made by his ancestors.¹¹³ On the basis of these and other explanations, the first Huguenot asserts that the word of a Catholic is entirely worthless: 'car de la manière que vous conduisez les consciences, cela n'eût servi de rien; il n'y a point de nœu[d] assez fort pour vous'.¹¹⁴ As a result, the first Huguenot suggests that Catholicism cannot serve as 'la Religion du serment', insisting:

si j'ai à faire à des Catholiques, je leur demanderai d'abord, *en quelle qualité traiterez-vous avec moi, est-ce comme Catholiques? S'ils disent qu'oüi, je leur repondrai*, qu'ils n'ont qu'à se retirer; que je ne saurois prendre confiance en eux sous cette relation.¹¹⁵

The practical consequences of the 'manque de parole' exercised by Catholics become evident. In a society in which almost all of one's dealings with others were dependent upon the legitimacy and currency of one's word, the first Huguenot's accusation of 'mauvaise foi' called into question the legitimacy of Catholicism as the religion which was supposed to regulate and guarantee this.¹¹⁶

Thus, the first Huguenot's description of the influence of Catholicism, understood in terms of his *definitio* of it, presents it as being problematic for the socio-political domain. Catholics are shown to be abusing their position of power by constraining the king with their rhetoric to carry out actions which have a damaging

¹¹² Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.52.

¹¹³ Jurieu, *Le vrai système de l'Eglise et la véritable analyse de la foi* (Dordrecht: Caspar and Theodore Goris, 1686), pp.201-2.

¹¹⁴ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.61.

¹¹⁵ Bayle, p.61.

¹¹⁶ In his book Shapin discuss the importance of communication in good faith to the functioning of early modern society. See Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, p.9.

impact upon French society. The discourse of lies and violence meant that the king was not getting good advice and that he was encouraged to act in bad faith towards his subjects. The result of the pervasive bad faith in French society meant that the word of a Catholic, one of the bases of that society, was presented as worthless. The fact that Catholics were not concerned about the consequences of their discourse for the functioning of society indicates that in their minds the demands and needs of their religion trumped that of the state. The first Huguenot can then be seen to attempt to show that Catholic discourse was detrimental to and inherently incompatible with French society.

The first Huguenot's *definitio* of Catholic France has been seen to engage with three primary issues in the religious controversy, focusing in each of them upon the dishonest discourse of or unfaithful use of language by that confession. Firstly, it discredits the claims of the Catholic clergy to speak the language of Christ. This argument is supported by examples which showed the Catholic clergy to be employing a language that ill-advisedly draws attention to the potentially ambiguous and contested nature of terms such as 'true religion' in a language in which meaning is a social construct. Catholic's use of language has resulted in many terms being rendered *équivoques*: the so-called conversions were supposed to have merely created hypocrites, who conformed externally to Catholicism; the language of flattery employed in their public addresses were accused of re-casting vice as virtue. Thus, the Catholic clergy is presented as performing a perverted form of its pastoral duty. Secondly, the issue of getting Catholics to admit to the 'terrible *Oiii*' is tackled with two main arguments. It is suggested that their denial of it is evidence of their adherence to the language of the Devil, one of the defining characteristics of Catholicism, according to the first Huguenot's *notatio*. Furthermore, it is argued that Catholics' misattribution of terms, such as violence or charity, inhibits effective and unambiguous communication. This wilful prevarication then is ultimately presented as demonstrating the complete lack of regard of Catholics for those with whom they are communicating. Thirdly, the Huguenot attempts to show that Catholicism, because it speaks the language of the Devil, is not a suitable complement to state discourse. This highly critical image or *definitio* of what it means for France to be wholly Catholic can be understood as a polemical argument, motivated by confessional bias. Indeed as we saw in chapter four, this was largely how the pamphlet was read by Bayle's contemporaries. In such a reading, it would seem that

the goal of the letter should be to discredit Catholicism in order to pave the way for Protestantism to take its place, that is so that there would be a *France toute Protestante*. However, I want to explore the possibility of a further reading of purpose of the *definitio* of Catholic France in the pamphlet in which the arguments of the Huguenots exceed their confessional concerns.

Bayle suggested the viability of such a writing strategy when he wrote of the *Commentaire Philosophique* that it was a text which 'fait semblant' to attack Catholics but which really was a defence of the rights of the erring conscience.¹¹⁷ If a similar writing strategy was at work in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, then the criticisms of the Catholic Church might to some extent be understood as a front for the insertion of ideas that were more subversive or far-reaching than a standard attack by a Huguenot upon Catholicism. In this kind of writing strategy, not all readers, particularly those angered by the inter-confessional polemic in the pamphlet, would detect the more subtle or implicit suggestions therein. This would help to account for the contemporary characterisation of Bayle's pamphlet as being a bitter or violent polemic. In the next section of this chapter, I will suggest that Bayle adopted a similar tactic in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, whereby the characterisation of a France that is wholly Catholic functioned to bring into question the role of revealed religions, and not just Catholicism, in the socio-political domain. In order to address this issue, I will examine the first Huguenot's comments upon religious zeal and thereafter discuss the suggested solution to the problems to which it gives rise.

Religious zeal is shown to be problematic in a number of ways in the pamphlet. The focus of the criticisms about zeal is upon revealed religions, such as Christianity, rather than upon the natural religions of pagans or deists. Some of the comments about the influence of religion in society, as will become evident, would have been considered quite inflammatory or controversial in Bayle's time. As a result it seems that a strategy of citation was implemented by the first Huguenot: the negative opinions about the role of religion in society are vocalised through quotations so that he could distance himself from those opinions, while simultaneously presenting them to the reader through persons with no vested in the confessional dispute between Catholics and Protestants and whose only basis for

¹¹⁷ Letter from Bayle to Lenfant, 3 February 1687 as cited in Mori, *Bayle Philosophe*, p.19.

moral judgement lay in natural law. This strategy is particularly evident in two instances, those being his quotation of Lucretius and of the opinion of deists. The quotations from both Lucretius and deists in the pamphlet criticise the influence of religion in society.

The Lucretius quotation is from his famous poem on Epicurean physics, the *De natura rerum*.¹¹⁸ This is the Huguenot's chosen quotation: 'Humana ante oculos foedè cum vita jaceret / In terris oppressa gravi sub religione, Quae caput à coeli regionibus ostendebat / Horribili super adspectu mortalibus instans'.¹¹⁹ This quotation reproached religion for being an oppressive and malignant force in society. If this quotation was understood to function as an *incipit*, the quotation would present an almost revolutionary criticism of religion. The end of this verse, which Bayle supplies when he quotes it in the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, anticipates and rejoices in the overthrow of religion: 'quare religio subjecta pedibus vicissim Obteritur; nos exaequat victoria coelo'.¹²⁰ The force and justifiability of the criticism in the quotation is mitigated by the way in which the first Huguenot incorporates into his text. He introduced it with the words: 'si jamais vous [Catholics] y arriviez, ce seroit alors que l'on pourroit dire ce que dit Lucrece'.¹²¹ Thus, he mitigates the weight of the citation by positing it as a criticism which could be employed in a hypothetical situation of specified circumstances, which have as yet not been brought. The context of the quotation, that the whole of Europe would fall under the yoke of Catholicism, suggests that here by *religione* the reader ought to understand Catholicism. However, the first Huguenot's citation of the opinion of deists points towards a more general criticism of all revealed religions and not just Catholicism.

When criticising yet again Catholics' behaviour, the first Huguenot letter cites the opinion of deists, introduced as 'ceux qui n'ont d'autre Religion que celle de l'équité naturelle', that:

¹¹⁸ Titus Lucretius Carus, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. by W.H.D. Rouse (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

¹¹⁹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.38. This translates as: 'When man's life lay for all to see foully grovelling upon the ground, crushed beneath the weight of Superstition, which displayed her head from the regions of heaven, lowering over mortals with horrible aspect'. See Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, pp.6-9.

¹²⁰ Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, III, p.210 [Lucrece].

'Wherefore now Religion is underfoot and us his victory exalts to heaven'. See Lucretius, *De natura rerum*, I, 64, Project Gutenberg – translation by William Ellery Leonard.

¹²¹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.38.

Dieu est trop bon essentiellement pour être l'Auteur d'une chose aussi pernicieuse que les Religions positives, qu'il n'a révélé à l'homme que le droit naturel, mais que des esprits ennémies de nôtre repos sont venus de nuit semer la zizanie dans le champ de la Religion naturelle, par l'établissement de certains cultes particuliers, qu'ils savoient bien qui seroient une sémence éternelle de guer[r]es, de carnages & d'injustices.¹²²

This citation draws upon an image of tares in Matthew's Gospel which is normally used in reference to heresy.¹²³ Deists here appropriate this discourse for their own cause, using 'la zizanie' to refer to all institutional religions. The fact that the first Huguenot evoked the judgement of people who have no vested interests in the religious controversy, could be seen as a strategic move intended to bolster support for his criticisms of Catholics. However, the comment made refers to all revealed religions and not just Catholicism. Consequently, Protestantism is included as one of the revealed religions which lead to instability and disharmony in society. No explicit explanation is provided as to why the existence of more than one revealed religion would lead to violence and instability. However, the reference to the disputes between different or competing religions points towards zeal, which imposed a duty to spread knowledge of the religion of Jesus Christ as a contributory factor. One of the problems which zeal brings is that, as I mentioned earlier, the term 'vraie Religion' had a contested application and consequently each group could claim that term for their respective confessions, thereby also claiming the term zeal for their actions. This problem is exemplified in Bayle's pamphlet. The Catholic canon insisted that actions against Huguenots were motivated by zeal. In his turn, the first Huguenot refutes Catholics' claim to zeal, remarking: 'vous vous croiez en gros & et par un honteux préjugé que tout ce qui a été fait contre nous est juste, puis qu'il a été suivi d'un si glorieux succez à la vraie Religion'.¹²⁴ Thus, he undermines Catholics' claim to be acting out of zeal by suggesting that their claim to act in the name of the true religion is an opinion or prejudice and not fact. This is further reinforced when he presents the Protestant perspective of what happened in France:

Il faut qu'une infinité d'honnêtes-gens, qui craignent & qui servent Dieu selon sa parole, se voient chassés de leurs maisons, & de leurs biens, tourmentés en leur cor[p]s, séparent de leurs femmes, de leurs enfans, & de leurs amis, le joiét d'un détachement de Dragons insolens, & que ceux qui leur causent ces desordres, leur viennent dire, que c'est par le zèle qu'on a de la gloire de Dieu & de leur salut.¹²⁵

¹²² Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.36.

¹²³ Matthew 13: 24-30. For an examination of the use of the quotation in Bayle's work, including a discussion of its import in this pamphlet, see Gros, 'Le Parabole de la zizanie chez Pierre Bayle', 297-319. Some of my analysis overlaps with his, but, as I will discuss, our conclusions differ. See also Negroni, *Intolérances*, pp.135-6.

¹²⁴ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.36.

¹²⁵ Bayle, p.64.

In asserting that the people who are suffering are those serving God according to his word, the first Huguenot implies that the soldiers of the dragoons are not doing the work of God, quite the opposite. In a contemporary text, the *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique Générale*, Bayle made a similar point when he defined *les Zelateurs* as:

des gens qui s'attribuoient l'autorité de tuer sans aucune forme de procès, ceux qu'ils surprenoient en certains crimes, comme le blasphème, le sacrilège, la profanation, la fornication avec une femme idolâtre, la hardiesse d'un sacrificateur qui auroit osé faire sa charge sans s'estre purifié.¹²⁶

In this quotation, zeal is presented with the qualities of a tyrant: there are no trials, only punishments. More significantly, the authority of the zealots is self-attributed, with the result that there was no way to control or regulate their actions. Religious zeal and ultimately religion itself was represented here as a divisive force, calling into question its value to society, where its supposed role was to assist with inculcating discipline and unity. Thus, since no confession could prove that it was the one true religion, all confessions could claim to act in its name. This partially accounts for the disputes and violence which the deists noted.

A further explanation is that since eternal salvation was considered the ultimate good, through the use of *paradiastole*, zeal could be used to provide a justification of behaviour and actions, which would otherwise normally be condemned. Hence the Catholic canon's comment:

ne seroit-il pas raisonnable de les [the disturbances in the houses of the Huguenots] souffrir patiemment et de baiser la main qui vous frappe, puis que ce n'est que pour vous sauver éternellement que l'on vous prive de quelques commoditez temporelles.¹²⁷

Thus, as in Augustine's letters, the goal of ensuring eternal salvation justified the imposition of some temporal discomforts. The first Huguenot does concede that if one was truly carrying out a mission from God then actions not normally permissible could be justified:

Parlant au nom du Dieu vivant qui a fait le Ciel & la terre, & qui vous auroit chargé d'une Commission speciale, vous pourriez bien nous apporter pour une raison valable de vos sémonces, que Dieu le veut, que c'est la volonté de Dieu[.]¹²⁸

In a contemporary text, the *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique Générale*, Bayle made a similar concession to prophets and the apostles, as they were acting on the special authority of God. However, as Ruth Whelan notes in her discussion, concessions of this variety were not, according to Bayle, to be extended

¹²⁶ Bayle, *Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique Generale*, p.198.

¹²⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, pp.32-3.

¹²⁸ Bayle, p.68.

to 'the common run of humanity'.¹²⁹ In *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* the justification of persecutions in the name of zeal is fought on two fronts. Firstly, in the more polemical domain of religious controversy, the first Huguenot attempts to show that Catholicism was not the true religion and therefore could not employ this reason. The second problem is raised in the second Huguenot's letter when he remarks:

Je souhaite pour l'amour d'eux, qu'ils n'agissent point contre leur conscience, ni par des motifs humains, mais par zèle pour l'Eglise qu'ils croient seule véritable; mais si c'est par zèle, ah! Dés aujourd'hui je fais résolution de prier Dieu soir et matin, de ne me donner jamais un tel zèle; j'aimerois-mieux de l'indifférence, qu'un zèle, ou qu'une dévotion, qui me feroit faire tant de choses contraires aux idées de l'équité.¹³⁰

This claim would have been highly controversial in early modern Europe. Indifference was considered highly suspect, as the people who espoused it were not tied to any particular value system or did not ally themselves with any particular institution, with whom their interests would cohere. Controlling or predicting the behaviour of indifferent people was seen to be problematic. Thus, religious belief, regardless of whether or not it was considered orthodox, was nonetheless thought to be preferable to indifference. In regard to zeal, the problem is that it justifies and permits behaviour that transgresses the laws of natural equity, and ultimately redresses vice as virtue. As Labrousse points out, the theory of natural law originated with stoicism and Cicero, and in the seventeenth century was highlighted by the writings of Hugo Grotius. The theory of natural law says that there are first principles of morality which are accessible to reason and which are therefore universal.¹³¹ In defending their actions by means of deceitful and obscurantist rhetoric, Catholics were not adhering to the universal morality of natural law in which concepts like good and bad or right and wrong functioned upon an inter-subjective understanding of these terms and to what they could be used to refer.

The biased use of these evaluative-descriptive terms in a paradiastolic re-description of a given action was shown to be problematic on two grounds by means of the *definitio* of a wholly Catholic France, provided by the first Huguenot. The first, which I have already discussed, is the moral ambiguity and to a shift in the moral compass to which Catholic discourse gives rise. The consequence both of the noted shift in morality and the fact that Catholics were seen not to respect natural

¹²⁹ Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition*, p.110.

¹³⁰ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.77.

¹³¹ Bayle, p.94, n.20.

law was that the state discourse which was allied to that of Catholicism was tarnished by association. While these criticisms in the pamphlet are made explicitly against Catholics, any religion motivated by zeal theirs - which the citation of the deists suggests is true of all positive religions - would fall suspect to similar behaviour. The first Huguenot proves this point when he informs his reader that travellers from Holland denied in foreign lands that they were Christian because the behaviour of Catholics in France had tarnished the reputation of Christianity.¹³² Thus, it was no longer merely the word Catholic which was synonymous with *malhonnête*, the term Christian was perceived to be also.

Gros, in his article upon the use of the parable of the tares in Bayle's *œuvre*, argues that in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* he presents a position which is essentially anti-Christian. Gros argues this based upon an examination of the parable of the tares in the light (primarily) of Bayle's later writings. He noted that while in the *Commentaire Philosophique* Bayle rejects any literal interpretation of the phrase 'compel them to enter' which would legitimate the use of force, the term 'zizanie', as employed in the pamphlet by the deists, is evoked in its most brutal and damaging meaning to accuse all Christian religions.¹³³ While it is possible that Bayle's view of Christianity developed in this more extreme direction in his later life and works, I do not think that this accurately reflects the point that Bayle was trying to make in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. The fact that the deists' comments extend the criticisms of Catholics' behaviour to include all revealed religions does not necessary mean, as Gros has suggested, that Bayle was anti-Christian. A number of factors would in fact suggest the opposite. Firstly, as McKenna has pointed out, Bayle's criticisms of the Catholics 'sont présentées comme des arguments apologétiques, fondés sur la morale évangélique'.¹³⁴ In the pamphlet, the two Huguenots suggest that the behaviour of Catholics is not consistent with morality expounded in the Gospel. Of course, there is a strategic element here in that by arguing on this ground they can present Catholics as not being the true representatives of Jesus Christ. However, it also suggests that there is a sound moral base to the Christian faith, which brings me to the second reason why the position expounded in the pamphlet is not necessarily anti-Christian. In Bayle's

¹³² Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.72.

¹³³ Gros, 'Le Parabole de la zizanie chez Pierre Bayle', p.298.

¹³⁴ McKenna, 'L'Ironie de Bayle' in Delpla and Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive*, p.259.

eyes, it was false zeal which was at the core of the problem of so-called conversions in France. In the Olaus dispute, Bayle remarked that religion was 'un principe de querelle, & un levain qui aigrit & qui foment l'antipathie'.¹³⁵ The cause of this, however, was 'le faux zele' that is fostered or inspired against another religion.¹³⁶ Thus, in one of the disputes that form part of the immediate context of the pamphlet, Bayle sees false zeal and not revealed religions as being the problem. Thirdly, in the pamphlet, the second Huguenot's comments about the places in the first Huguenot's letter where he introduced the opinions of deists need to be taken into consideration in order to understand what Bayle was trying to achieve by incorporating these voices into the pamphlet. The second Huguenot's comments suggest that the extreme opinion of the deists should be understood more as a threat, rather than as an indication of Bayle's opinion of Christianity. The second Huguenot tells the Catholic canon that he reprimanded their mutual friend for the places in his letter where he introduced 'les profanes blasphémant contre la Religion en général'.¹³⁷ The first Huguenot accounted for this by informing the second Huguenot that he had found himself in the company of 'certains Libertins graves' who 'fort-sérieusement, fort-douloureusement' made these kinds of reflections.¹³⁸ The implication of this explanation is that if Catholics persist in violent and deceitful behaviour then the comments and argument of libertines will start to gain ground and to appeal to people. Thus, the threat that runs through the two Huguenot letters is that if revealed religions continue to employ violence and deceit and to foster factions, then it will both show the opinion of the deists to be true and also bring about religious indifference (as suggested in the second Huguenot letter). These factors suggest that it was not the particular religion which was at fault *per se*, but rather a false manifestation or conception of what zeal should consist of is represented as being the cause of the bitterness and hatred between different confessions. Consequently, the pamphlet seems more concerned to address the issue of false zeal and what people will do in the name of their religion than to expound an anti-Christian stance.

The first Huguenot is concerned to address the effect of false zeal in the socio-political domain, which has led to the terms Christian and *malhonnête* becoming synonymous. One of the effects of this is, as the first Huguenot remarked,

¹³⁵ Bayle, *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, I, Dec., 1685, art. iii, p.1315.

¹³⁶ Bayle, pp.1315-16.

¹³⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.75.

¹³⁸ Bayle, p.75.

that 'il faut faire plus de fond sur un homme, entant qu'instruit des règles de la civilité et de l'honnêteté, qu'entant qu'instruit par son Curé dans le Catéchisme de sa Religion'.¹³⁹ Significantly, this suggests that a man's social education and identity were more trustworthy or were worthy of greater weight than his religious education. The first Huguenot made this assertion when arguing that the Catholics in France who helped those being persecuted did so as Frenchmen and not as Catholics. This rejects the idea that Catholicism and even Christianity was a necessary or helpful feature of the French identity. Thus, he was clearly arguing that Catholicism was neither a necessary, nor indeed helpful characteristic of a Frenchman.

These factors point to the conclusion that it is necessary to separate the state discourse not just from an alliance with the language of Catholicism, but rather from an alliance with any positive religion. This rejects the necessity of a dominant monologic discourse which allies the interests of state and religion. This position in favour of a secular state meant that the stability and functioning of French society could no longer be dependent upon the creation of a state where there was *une foi*. This conclusion raises the question of what language or discourse should fill the place and serve the functions which religion had held in the socio-political domain.

Having demonstrated the need to remove religion as the guiding moral basis of society, it was necessary to provide an alternative system or language by which to regulate and judge the behaviour of men and to fulfil the roles which religion had played in society. The answer to the problem can be found both in the substantive claims of the Huguenot letters and in the rhetorical structure of the pamphlet. Three concepts are suggested which would help to sustain a stable society.

The first is *charité générale*. The concept of charity evoked by the first Huguenot does not have a religious basis, rather it arises from 'les devoirs indispensables de l'humanité' which 'ni la distance des lieux, ni la différence des Religions ne doivent point rompre'.¹⁴⁰ Religion, then in the first Huguenot's eyes, is not necessary to create a social bond; there is a pre-existing bond and duty of behaviour to one's fellow man that is imposed by the strictures of humanity. One of the duties imposed by this *charité générale* is to denounce those who intend to deceive or bear false witness in their dealings with others. The first Huguenot claims

¹³⁹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.83.

¹⁴⁰ Bayle, p.72.

that he cannot blame the Dutch travellers who were supposed to have had Jesuit missionaries expelled from Japan.¹⁴¹ It is evident therefore that a discourse of lies was considered to be inimical to relationships between men.

The second basis for society, which would undoubtedly inform the concept of charity, is that of natural law.¹⁴² The language of natural law is implicitly pointed to in two of the citations that I have already discussed, as the appropriate basis for the moral code of society. The first is the citation of deists by the first Huguenot, which remarks that natural law existed prior to and exclusive of the zeal which motivated positive religions.¹⁴³ The second Huguenot's accusation, that the zeal of Catholics caused them to do things which transgressed ideas of natural equity, pointed to the same conclusion.¹⁴⁴ Thus, in contrast to the dishonest and biased moral languages which have sprung up in religious controversy, natural law is put forward as an alternative language which, being universal is also inter-subjective. These neutral criteria of judgement will prevent vices from being re-cast as virtues, thereby ensuring that signs are attributed to referents which are agreed to by all parties or confessions. This helps to account for the significant incorporation into the two Huguenot letters of the opinions and judgements of pagans or those whose moral frame of reference was based upon natural law. The pagans or deists were not directly implicated in the religious controversy and consequently their opinions had increased legitimacy, which the Huguenots thereby acquire for their own arguments.

The third concept which is suggested as an appropriate base upon which to predicate society is that of *honnêteté*. The suggestion to supplant religious discourse with one based on *honnêteté* was not original. Damien Mitton (1618-90), a French theorist of *honnêteté*, had disputed with Pascal whether using this concept as the basis of society would help to bring an end to the disputes and discord in the communications and exchanges of peoples from different confessions or religions.¹⁴⁵ While most contemporary treatises, discussing the concept of *honnêteté* would have insisted that in order to be *honnête* it was necessary also to be a *bon Chrétien*, the first Huguenot asserts *honnêteté* as a moral sphere that is distinct from

¹⁴¹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.72.

¹⁴² For a discussion of Bayle's attitude to natural law see Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle: Hétérodoxie et rigorisme*, pp.258-88.

¹⁴³ Bayle, p.36.

¹⁴⁴ Bayle, p.77.

¹⁴⁵ David Wetsel, *Pascal and Disbelief: Catechesis and Conversion in the 'Pensées'* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1994), p.120.

and more reliable than those dependent upon positive religions.¹⁴⁶ In particular, this concept is presented as viable alternative to *la religion du serment*. I previously noted that the first Huguenot refused to make deals and do business with Catholics if the word they give was to be guaranteed by their religion. However, he remarks that 's'ils veulent traiter comme honnêtes-hommes, ce sera une autre chose'.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, when the first Huguenot praised the fact that the English parliament did not ask an oath of the king when he said he would maintain the current state of the confessions in his country, he pointed to the viability of a society in which there was more than one religion, if the concept of *honnêteté* formed the basis of it. He wrote:

la parole qu'il a donnée en qualité de Prince honnête-homme, qui aime la réputation d'homme sincère, franc & genereux, qui aime la gloire sure des idées tout autrement pûres, que celles que vous inspirez aux Princes, pour les rendre l'instrument de vos injustes passions, on s'y peut fier.¹⁴⁸

Here, *honnêteté* is shown to embrace the qualities of sincerity and frankness. Furthermore, unlike Catholics, who were accused of showing no 'égards' for others, the *honnête homme*, who is shown to be concerned with his reputation, would not want to break his word. As a result, the *honnête homme* adheres to a discourse in which his words reflect his intent, thereby creating a coherent and trustworthy sign. Thus, by divesting the concept of *honnêteté* of any confessional or religious implications that it might contain, he seeks to establish the moral basis of society upon that concept rather than in a particular religious confession which would give rise to a dishonest discourse and which would facilitate equivocation.

The three bases upon which the Huguenots suggest society can function, 'charité générale', natural law and *honnêteté* all have one thing in common: they eschew the use of a biased and dishonest discourse. At this point the reason becomes evident why the epistolary format of the pamphlet, which I discussed in the previous chapter, presents the Huguenots as championing a discourse of plain-speaking which respected the demands of *bienséance* and *le naturel*, rather than the Language of Canaan, as the appropriate replacement for the discredited discourse of Catholics. The plain-speaking discourse, based upon the above three concepts, which demanded a correlation between *l'être* and *le paraître* would not sustain the dishonest discourse of Catholics, but nor would it sustain any other discourse which

¹⁴⁶ See for example St Hilaire, *L'idée ou le caractère de l'honnête homme*, Avertissement, xiii-iv.

¹⁴⁷ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.61.

¹⁴⁸ Bayle, p.60.

did not function on the basis of a language which was comprehensible by all parties involved. This suggests that the first Huguenot's *definitio* of a wholly Catholic France did not function solely upon a polemical level, where it was intended to prove that Catholicism was not the appropriate ally for the French state. Rather, a further reading is possible, when the Huguenots' comments point towards the necessity of minimizing the influence of revealed religions on the state. In order for such a state to be possible a new foundation must be provided to supplant the role which religion had played in society. In *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, the plain-speaking discourse based upon 'charité générale', natural law and *honnêteté* is suggested as an 'éthique de la parole', which could sustain the functioning of a France which was not wholly Catholic. In this respect *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* falls in line with similar efforts by Bayle made in the earlier *Pensées Diverses* and the later *Dictionnaire historique et critique*.¹⁴⁹ In the *Pensées Diverses*, Bayle had argued that an atheistic society, which was thus not based upon religious moral precepts, was viable. Bayle based his argument, among other factors, upon the fact that there was an intrinsic and natural *honnêteté* in atheists.¹⁵⁰ In the light of this new basis of society, interactions between people who were not of the same religion now obtained a more secure footing than they had previously. In a society based upon these concepts which reject a morality that is not consistent with the tenets of natural law, it could no longer be cast as a good act to break your word to someone of a different religion, and so on. In a society which adhered to this new language or discourse, Catholics would have to finally utter the 'terrible Oüi': the conversions were forced and to employ violence was wrong. Thus, the *éthique de la parole* attributed by Bost to Bayle in terms of historical writing can be seen to function within and as part of the call in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* for an honest discourse which functions inter-subjectively in order to ensure the possibility of communication but also trust in the utterance. Ultimately, the plain-speaking discourse championed by the Huguenots in the pamphlet, which provided an alternative basis to religion in the state, was an important step en route to Bayle's argument for religious toleration and paved the way for the viability of a religiously plural society.

¹⁴⁹ See Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition*, p.191.

¹⁵⁰ Bayle, *Pensées Diverses sur la comète*, p.436.

This understanding of the purpose of the attack upon Catholicism in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* places the pamphlet as forerunner to the *Commentaire Philosophique*. It is possible that in the second Huguenot letter it is suggested to the reader that the *Commentaire Philosophique* supports the first Huguenot's assertion that it is possible to create a distinction between the identities of French and Catholic. I say that is only possible for a number of reasons. The second Huguenot notes that although he was initially unconvinced by the first Huguenot's claim, he changed his mind on the basis of the arguments in 'un Cahier traduit de l'Anglois'.¹⁵¹ Labrousse suggests that, although she has been unable to identify the actual source, the text referred to here is not the *Commentaire Philosophique*.¹⁵² It seems probable that she singled out the *Commentaire Philosophique* because the artifice given for the genesis of that text was that it, like the *cahier* mentioned here, was a text translated from English. No reason is provided to explain why it is suggested that the reference is not to the *Commentaire Philosophique*, though it is possible to surmise as to two possible explanations. The first is that the argument in question was not found in the text. The second possible explanation is that, in the paragraph which follows the mention of the 'Cahier traduit de l'Anglois', the second Huguenot introduces a discussion of the *Commentaire Philosophique* by means of a statement which could be interpreted as distinguishing Bayle's forthcoming text from the one just mentioned. Neither of these explanations is entirely solid. With regard to the first, it is possible (though I have no documentary proof) that such an argument existed in an early draft of the *Commentaire Philosophique*, which did not feature in the printed version. In terms of the second possible explanation, it is necessary to consider a number of factors about the way in which the two paragraphs in question were written. The end of the first paragraph and the start of the second read as follows:

Je me suis moqué de sa distinction, mais il m'a montré un Cahier traduit de l'Anglois, où cette pensée se trouve. C'est un livre, Monsieur, où je vous renvoie pour répondre à ce que vous m'alleguez de S. Augustin.

Il y a ici un savant Presbitérien bon Filosofo qui a fait un Commentaire filosofique sur ces paroles de la parabole, *contrain les d'entrer*, lequel commentaire n'est pas encore imprimé.¹⁵³

The end of the first paragraph in this quotation could be read as the second Huguenot referring the reader to the discussion in the 'Cahier traduit de l'Anglois'

¹⁵¹ Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, p.83.

¹⁵² Bayle, p.133, n.174.

¹⁵³ Bayle, pp.83-4.

which does not attend to detail. The start of the second paragraph then would mark the commencement of the discussion of a different text, but which dealt with a similar theme. In this reading the 'ici' would refer to the physical location of the second Huguenot in England. However, it is also possible that the 'ici' refers to the book which the Catholic canon is advised to read. This understanding would create a continuity and link between the two paragraphs which would suggest that the *Commentaire Philosophique* was the text in question in both. Furthermore, the structure of the two paragraphs in question mirror each other so that the second paragraph could almost be understood as an elaboration of the ideas in the first. If it is possible that the 'Cahier traduit de l'Anglois' was the *Commentaire Philosophique*, then this would bear out the truth of Gros's assertion that the commentary and the pamphlet were to be read as pair-texts. Barbara de Negroni's comments about Bayle's conception of languages or discourses point towards another way in which the two texts function in parallel. Negroni argues that Bayle recognises a difference between theological and moral languages. The language of morality, as I have discussed in relation to *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, must be based upon an inter-subjectively agreed understanding and usage. However, as Negroni points out, Bayle's argument for the rights of the erring conscience in the *Commentaire Philosophique* requires that each confession accepts the subjectivity inherent in the language of theology: each confession must accept that while it will conceive of itself as espousing orthodoxy and the other as representing the heterodox, the other confession will necessarily hold the opposite point of view. In terms of these two texts functioning as a pair-text, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* shows the danger of the alliance of a biased discourse upon society and points to the necessity of basing the socio-political domain upon an inter-subjectively agreed and accepted moral discourse, while the *Commentaire Philosophique* expounds the necessity of accepting a multiplicity of subjective discourses in the domain of theology. Thus, as a pair text, the pamphlet proposes the kind of language appropriate to the socio-political domain, while the *Commentaire Philosophique* discusses the appropriate conception of language in the religious domain.

The appeal by Bayle for an inter-subjective and transparent use of language in the intellectual, moral and socio-political domains poses a quandary in relation to his writing style. As I noted in the introduction, his writings are famously difficult to

decipher for several reasons. Some of these reasons, his use of irony for example, function on the basis of a use of language which is not transparent and attempts to occlude, at least from some readers, the true meaning of a passage. This might, to some extent, be accounted for by the fact that Bayle was writing in a time of persecution, which, as scholars such as Leo Strauss have noted, often prompted authors to employ esoteric forms of writing.¹⁵⁴ Given the pervasive use of writing strategies which make his opinion or argument difficult to pin down, it would seem that further explanation is required of this feature of Bayle's writings. This presents a worthy avenue of future research, particularly if considered within the context of the arguments made in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* about the necessity of a more transparent and subjective use of language.

In this chapter, I have shown that the arguments in Bayle's pamphlet are presented through an extended *definitio* of a wholly Catholic France, which focused upon the nature of Catholicism and revealed its use of deceitful language and rhetoric. Having discussed the role of language in religious controversy from a theological perspective and from a political perspective, I explained how the first Huguenot's characterisation of a wholly Catholic France could be interpreted in different ways, including on a polemical level. I argued that the Huguenots presented Catholic's dishonest or biased use of language, which exploits language's flexibility and potential ambiguity, as being problematic both in the religious and socio-political domains. In the religious domain, the use of prevarication and indeed the use of moral evaluative-descriptive terms which are based upon a non-universal measure of morality are presented as leading to moral ambiguity at best, to total moral perversion at worst. The moral arbitrariness to which a measure of morality that was not based upon an inter-subjective foundation such as natural law could lead was presented as detrimental to and incompatible with the role of social regulation which religion was supposed to fulfil. Consequently, an alternative to positive religions as the moral basis of society is suggested by the Huguenots. This is a position which neither Protestants nor Catholics would have approved of, but which was an important step for the creation of an argument for religious toleration. The Huguenots suggest a new language as a basis for society. This is to be a universal language based upon 'charité générale', *honnêteté* and natural law. As a

¹⁵⁴ Leo Strauss, *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.22-37.

universal language based on natural law, there could no longer be subjective interpretations of the appropriated use of evaluative-descriptive terms such as virtuous, just and so on. The premise of this language is that the sign should be transparent and not obscure the nature of its referent. Consequently, *bienséance* becomes the criterion proper to the language of morality employed in any state. However, the use of language is only ethical when it adheres to the demands of a *bienséance du contenu*, as well as a *bienséance de l'expression*.¹⁵⁵ Thus, as Roger Zuber has pointed out in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, it was a case of 'moins de bienséance verbale et plus de bienséance morale'.¹⁵⁶ The first Huguenot's project of providing a re-description of a wholly Catholic France functions as an example of this ethical language. Unlike Catholics' use of paradiastolic re-description which distorted the relationship between the sign and the referent, ultimately rendering their discourse incomprehensible and instable, the first Huguenot's re-definition of a wholly Catholic France insisted upon the necessity for a language in which evaluative-descriptive terms were designated based upon the universal criteria of natural law. As a result, unfaithful or deceitful re-descriptions of events or actions by means of the rhetorical device of *paradiastole* would no longer be acceptable: rather a truth-telling discourse, like that of the first Huguenot, was to be embraced. Language, employed in this way, will function as a bulwark for morality against the zealous claims of religious confessions. Finally, I argued that by viewing the purpose of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* to be that of promoting this inter-subjective moral language it is possible to better understand how the pamphlet and the *Commentaire Philosophique* function as a pair-text. In turn this points to the necessity of reconsidering the status of these two texts as a pair in the context of Bayle's *œuvre* in future research.

¹⁵⁵ Dens, *L'Honnête Homme et la Critique du Goût*, p.118.

¹⁵⁶ Zuber, 'L'écriture comique' in Bots and Posthumus Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685*, p.179.

Conclusion: Towards the *Commentaire Philosophique*

The first section of the thesis examined the limited context within which *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* has been predominantly understood by contemporary scholarship and presented an extended context which would account for Bayle's appropriation and subversion of the title of Gautereau's text. The analysis of the disputes showed that there were two main points of dispute. The first was the disparity between the premium being placed on the use of moderate language and the refusal of Catholics to criticise the forced conversions of the Huguenots, which ultimately raises the issue of the appropriate reaction to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the concomitant events. The second was the question of the legitimacy and efficacy of forced conversions, with reference to writings of Saint Augustine. While, the links between the documents in first dispute that I discussed had previously been noted, their relevance to the genesis of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* had not been examined in detail. The second dispute which I discuss has not yet been noted in the secondary literature on the pamphlet. The strands of the two disputes are shown to overlap in La Roque's review of Gautereau's *La France toute Catholique*, which was published a month before Bayle's pamphlet appeared. A discussion of the pamphlet and Bayle's review of it in his journal further substantiate the links between his writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the disputes with La Roque. Thus, it became evident that it was in response to La Roque's review, rather than to Gautereau's text, that Bayle chose the title of his pamphlet. Furthermore, the discussion of the review of the pamphlet, in which Bayle also points his readers in the direction of the forthcoming *Commentaire Philosophique*, suggests that each of these texts might have been intended to serve as responses to the two primary issues in the disputes with La Roque: the commentary tackles the issue of the justification of forced conversions, while the review of the pamphlet both suggests that it will contradict Catholic accounts of the conversions and also raises the question of appropriate reaction to forced conversions. Having established a context for understanding Bayle's writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, I then examined how the pamphlet was understood by Bayle's contemporaries. This in turn raised questions about how he may have intended it to function as a response to the context of the persecutions and religious controversy. The discussion of the contemporary

reception of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in the fourth chapter showed that the pamphlet was to a large extent understood as Huguenot polemic against the persecution of that religious minority in France. However, the later reception of the pamphlet also raised the problem of the same author publishing the angry polemic in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and thereafter expecting readers to be amenable to his arguments for religious toleration in the *Commentaire Philosophique*.

It was the work, then, of the second section of this thesis to account for why Bayle intervened in the religious controversy with this seemingly polemical pamphlet prior to his publication of the *Commentaire Philosophique*. In order to address this issue, the focus of my discussion turns to examine the construction of the argument(s) and substantive claims about rhetoric in *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. In chapter five, I discussed the *dispositio* in the epistolary format of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*. I presented two possible explanations of the purpose behind Bayle's chosen structure, which rather than being mutually exclusive, in fact both suggest that the purpose of the pamphlet was not just to criticise Catholics, but rather to pave the way towards the call for religious toleration in the *Commentaire Philosophique*. The first explanation was that the epistolary format is intended to show that neither Catholics nor Protestants were willing to convert and therefore that the religious controversy could not be resolved. The second explanation of the epistolary format focused on the varying degrees to which the participants in this scenario fulfilled the demands of discourse as articulated in the concepts of *bienséance* and *le naturel*. With their appeal to these concepts, the arguments of the two Huguenots can be seen to be firmly rooted in, though playing on the concerns with *le bon usage* and *la justesse* in contemporary linguistic and rhetorical culture.¹ In the final chapter I explore how these concerns function in conjunction with the substantive claims made in the pamphlet in order to prepare the way for the *Commentaire Philosophique*.

In the final chapter I showed that by means of the title of the pamphlet, the rhetorical devices of *definitio* and *paradiastole* are both the means by which the first Huguenot presents his argument and also form part of his considerations about the use of rhetoric. I presented how, through his characterisation of Catholics to justify

¹ Tocanne, *L'Idée de Nature en France*, pp.371-6.

his paradiastolic re-description of the term, the first Huguenot's criticisms of Catholics' use of a dishonest discourse and a subjective measure of morality functioned on the level of religious polemic in order to address two issues: the first was to contradict Catholic accounts of the conversions and ultimately force them to admit the 'Terrible Oüi'; while the second was to show that their discourse would prove damaging to the state discourse with which it was allied. Thereafter, by discussing the concept of zeal as evoked in the pamphlet, I argued that the true purpose of the Huguenots' characterisation of a wholly Catholic France was not solely driven by confessional polemic. Rather, the purpose of the pamphlet was to make the argument that the alliance between state discourse and any revealed religion, which was motivated by zeal, would ultimately be to the detriment of the state. This posed the problem of how a state could function in the absence of religion, which supported the functioning of the state in a number of ways. The point of the second explanation of the epistolary format of the pamphlet, which promoted a language that adhered to the rules of *bienséance*, became evident. A non-subjective language based on the concepts of *honnêteté*, *charité générale* and natural law was shown as the Huguenots' suggested appropriate basis for society. With its call for a non-subjective use of language in the face of dissimulative and obscurantist rhetoric, Bayle's pamphlet provides an exemplification of one of the intellectual struggles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which reflected the intellectual ideals and values of the Republic of Letters. The universal language of truth-telling proposed by the Huguenots addressed the two main problems which *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* raises. Firstly, in a society based on this universal language the Catholics would have to admit the 'Terrible Oüi'. Secondly, presenting this alternative language which could fulfil the roles of a religious discourse in society meant that one's religious identity was no longer a factor in a person's ability to function within that society. Ultimately, then *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* can be understood to pave the way for the *Commentaire Philosophique*, but not through a cathartic purging of his anger that has been suggested by some scholars. Rather, the universal language suggested by the Huguenots was an important step on the way to proving the viability of a society where religious toleration was possible. The fact that these two strands of argument were prominent show that *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* was very much the product of Bayle's disputes with La Roque and functioned as a prelude to

the *Commentaire Philosophique*. In the light of these considerations it seems likely that the *Commentaire Philosophique* derived from this context of the disputes with La Roque also.

This thesis, by setting the writing of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the *Commentaire Philosophique* in the context of Bayle's disputes with La Roque, shows that these texts were not just prompted by the general context, but were responses to specific texts, even if these responses ultimately had an impact beyond the specific context also. Thus, the background disputes proved a useful tool for helping to understand both how and why Bayle wrote the pamphlet. Moreover, by tracing the disputes between Bayle and La Roque, other disputes worthy of further research, particularly that between Ferrand and Claude, were brought to light. Furthermore, on account of the contextualisation of the pamphlet, the place of *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* in Bayle's *œuvre* and his reaction to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes needs to be re-evaluated: rather than being an angry and emotional response to contemporary events, it must now be recognised as a considered response to his disputes with La Roque, which served as a basis from which to comment upon the situation in general. Moreover, the context of the disputes gives further credence to Gros's argument that the pamphlet and the *Commentaire Philosophique* were intended to be read as pair texts. There is scope to do further work both on the relationship between *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* and the commentary and also on the specific relationship of the *Commentaire Philosophique* to the context of the disputes. The discussion of those disputes in this thesis can serve as a basis for that research.

Bibliography

Early Printed Sources

A.B.R.D.L.D.P., *Abregé de la Vie de Mr. Claude* (Amsterdam: Pierre Savouret, 1687).

[Anon.], *An Edict of the French King Prohibiting all Publick Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion in his Kingdom [...]*, 2ed., trans. out of French ([?]: G.M., 1686).

[Anon.], *The Present State of the Protestants in France in Three Letters* (London: Pall Mall, 1681).

Aikin, John, *General Biography; or lives, critical and historical of the most eminent persons of all ages ...*, vol. 2 of 10 (London: 1799-1815).

Bary, René, *La Rhétorique françoise ou pour principale augmentation l'on trouve les secrets de nostre langue* (Paris: Pierre le Petit, 1665).

Basnage de Beauval, Henri, *Histoire des Ouvrage des Savans*, 6 vols (Geneva: Slatkine, 1969), VI.

Bayle, Pierre, *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique* (S. Omer: Pierre, L'Ami, 1686)

—— *Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ: contrain-les d'entrer* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang), pt. I-II, 1686; pt. III, 1687.

—— *Critique Générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Mr. Maimbourg* (Ville-Franche: Pierre le Blanc, 1682).

—— *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 5 ed., 4 vols (Amsterdam, Leyde, La Haye, Utrecht, 1740).

—— *Ianua cælorum reserata cunctis religionibus* (Amsterdam: Peter Chayer, 1692).

—— *Nouvelles lettres critiques de l'auteur de la Critique generale de l'Histoire du calvinisme de Mr. Maimbourg*, 2 vols (Ville-Franche: Pierre le Blanc, 1685).

—— *Œuvres Diverses de Mr. Pierre Bayle*, 5 vols (1727), II.

Baune, Jacob de la, *Augustissimo Galliarum Senatui Panegyricus* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1685).

Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique sur les Matières de Controverse*, 12 ed. (Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1686).

Brueys, David-Augustine, *Défense du culte extérieur de l'Eglise Catholique* (Paris : S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1686).

Brusson, Claude, *Estat des Réformez en France* (Cologne : Pierre Marteau, 1684).

Burnet, Gilbert, *Histoire de la Réformation de l'Eglise de l'Angleterre seconde partie, contentant le progrès de la Réformation sous le Règne d'Edoüard VI. son renversement sous l'autorité de Marie, & son rétablissement par la piété 'Elisabet*, trans. by M. de Rosemond ([?]).

Cerdan, Jean-Paul de, *L'Empereur & l'Empire trahis* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1682).

Claude, Jean, *Les Plaintes des Protestans cruellement opprimez dans le Royaume de France* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1686).

—— *Sermon sur le Verset 14. du Chapitre 7. de l'Ecclesiaste* (The Hague: Abraham Troyel, 1685).

Colomiès, Paul, *La Rhétorique de l'Honnête Homme, ou la manière de bien écrire des lettres, de faire toutes sortes de discours, & de les prononcer agréablement* (Amsterdam: George Gallet, 1699).

Des Maizeaux, Pierre, 'The Life of Mr Bayle' in *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr Peter Bayle*, 5 vols (London, 1734).

Des Marest, François, *La Religion du Serment contre l'Artifice de Parole, ou l'Equivoque* (Paris: Christophe Journal, 1682).

Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise, 2 vols (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1694).

[Dubois, Philippe-Goibaud], *Conformité de la conduite de l'Eglise de France pour ramener les Protestans avec celle de l'Eglise de l'Affrique pour ramener les Donatistes à la foi Catholique* (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1685).

Durand, David, *Continutation de l'Histoire du X^{VI} Siècle, septième partie; qui contient la vie de M. de Thou...* (London, 1732).

Édit de Fontainebleau, Archives Nationales, AE/II/887, no. J943/pce3.

Ferrand, Louis, *Réponse à l'«Apologie pour la Réformation» pour les réformateurs et pour les réformés* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1685).

——— *Traité de l'Eglise contre les Hérétiques, principalement contre les Calvinistes* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1685).

Fréret, Nicolas, *Examen Critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne* (1775).

Furetière, Antoine, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 2 vols (1690).

Gaultier de Saint-Blanchard, François, *Dialogues entre Photin et Irenée sur le dessein de la reunion des religions* (Mayence: Jean le Blanc, 1685).

Gautereau, Jean, *La France toute Catholique sous le Règne de Louis le Grand* (Lyon: Jean Certe, 1684).

Hervet, Gentian, *Recueil d'aucuns mensonges de Calvin, Melanchthon, Bucere [...]* (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1561).

Hilaire, Saint, *L'idée ou le caractère de l'honnête homme* (Paris: Medard-Michel Brunet, 1698).

Jurieu, Pierre, 'A Letter of Monsieur Jurieu to a Gentleman of Quality upon his Dragonary Conversion' in *Le Dragon Missionnaire or the Dragoon turn'd Apostle* (?).

——— *Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme mises en parallèle*, 2 vols (Rotterdam: Renier Leers, 1683).

——— *La Politique du Clergé de France* (The Hague: Abraham Arondeus, 1682).

——— *Les Derniers efforts de l'innocence affligée* (The Hague: Abraham Arondeus, 1681).

——— *Réflexions sur la cruelle persecution que souffre l'Eglise Réformée de France* (1685).

——— *Le vrai système de l'Eglise et la veritable analyse de la foi* (Dordrecht: Caspar and Theodore Goris, 1686).

Kirchmann, Johannus, *Commentarii Historici duo hactenus inediti de Regibus vetustis Norvagiciis, alter de Danorum in terram Sanctam circa 1185* (Amsterdam: Janssonius Waesborgius, 1684).

La Roque, Jean-Paul de, *Journal des Sçavans pour l'année M. DC. LXXXV* (Paris: Jean Cusson, 1685).

—— *Journal des Sçavans pour l'année M. DC. LXXXVI* (Paris: Jean Cusson, 1686).

Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, 2 vols (Paris: Jean Baptiste Coignard, 1694).

Le Fèvre, Jacques, *Bayle En Petit, ou Anatomie de ses ouvrages* (Paris: Marc Bordelet, 1738).

—— *Nouveau Recueil de tout ce qui s'est fait pour et contre les Protestans* (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1686).

Le Noble, Eustache, *L'Heresie Détruite: Poëme Heroique*, 2 ed., (Paris : C. Mazuel, 1690).

Limiers, Henri Philippe de, *Histoire du Regne de Louis XIV*, 2 ed., VII (Amsterdam, 1718), p.53.

Maimbourg, Louis, *Histoire du Calvinisme* (Paris: Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy, 1682).

—— *Histoire du Pontificat de S. Gregoire le Grand* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1686).

—— *Les Histoires du Sieur Maimbourg*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1686).

Marsy, François Marie de, *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle, ou abrégé méthodique de ses ouvrages*, 8 vols (London, 1755-c.1770).

Pic, Jean, *Discours de la bienséance avec des maximes et des réflexions très importantes et très nécessaires pour réduire cette vertu en usage* (Paris: Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy, 1690).

Pretorius, Mathaeus, *Tuba pacis ad universas dissidentes in Occidente Ecclesias, seu discursus Theologicus de unione Ecclesiarum Romanae & Protestantium* (Cologne: Joann Paulus, 1685).

Rapin, René, *Du grand ou du sublime dans les mœurs et dans les différentes conditions des hommes* (Paris: Sebastian Mabre-Cramoisy, 1686).

Robinet, Jean-Baptiste-René, *Analyse raisonnée de Bayle, ou abrégé méthodique de ses ouvrages, particulièrement de son Dictionnaire historique et critique*, vols 5-8 (London: 1755).

Soulier, Pierre, *Histoire des Edits de Pacification* (Paris: Antoine Dezallier, 1682).

Varillas, Antoine, *Histoire des Revolutions arrivées dans l'Europe* (Suivant la copie imprimée chez Claude Barbin à Paris, 1686).

Yvon, Claude, *Liberté de Conscience Resserrée dans des Bornes Legitimes* (London: 1755).

Further Primary Sources

Augustine of Hippo, Saint, *The City of God against the Pagans: Books 1-3*, trans. by George E. McCracken, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

——— *Augustine Select Letters*, trans. by James Houston Baxter, Loeb Classical Library (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006).

Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. by J.H. Freeses (London: William Heinemann, 1926).

Barthélemy, Edouard de (ed.), *Galerie des portraits de Mademoiselle de Montpensier* (Paris: Pillet Fils Ainé, 1860).

Bayle, Pierre, *A Philosophical Commentary on These Words of the Gospel, Luke 14:23, "Compel Them to Come in, That My House May Be Full"*, ed. by John Kilcullen and Chandran Kukathas (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005).

——— *Bayle: Political Writings*, ed. by Sally Jenkinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

——— *Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique*, ed. by Elisabeth Labrousse (Paris: Vrin, 1973).

——— *Correspondance de Pierre Bayle*, 12 vols, ed. by Elisabeth Labrousse et al. (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007), I-VII.

—— *De la tolérance: Commentaire Philosophique*, ed. by Jean-Michel Gros (Paris: Champion, 2006).

—— *Historical and Critical Dictionary Selections*, trans. by Richard H. Popkin (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1991).

—— *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 2 vols (Geneva: Slatkine, 1966).

—— *Pensées diverses sur la comète*, ed. by Joyce and Hubert Bost (Paris: Flammarion, 2007).

—— *Pierre Bayle's Philosophical Commentary: A Modern Translation and Critical Interpretation*, ed. by Amie Godman Tannenbaum (New York: Peter Lang, 1987).

—— *Pierre Bayle, Témoin et Conscience de son Temps: un choix d'articles du Dictionnaire historique et critique*, ed. by Antony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2001).

Catullus, Gaius Valerius, *Catullus, Tibullus, and Pervigilium Veneris*, trans. by F.W. Cornish (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Phillipics* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1926).

—— *On the Orator*, trans. by E.W. Sutton and R. Rackham (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1948).

[Cicero, Marcus Tullius], *Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, trans. by Harry Caplan (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

Descartes, René, *Œuvres philosophiques*, 3 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1967) II.

Erasmus, Desiderius, *Literary and Educational Writings of Erasmus*, ed. by Craig Thomson, vol. 25 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, c.1982).

Faret, Nicolas, *L'Honnête homme, ou l'art de plaire à la court*, ed. by Magendie (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1925).

Fénelon, François, *Œuvres*, ed. by Jacques le Brun (Paris: Gallimard, 1983).

—— *Telemachus, Son of Ulysses*, ed. and trans. by Patrick Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de, *Textes Choisis*, intro. by Maurice Roelens (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1966).

Guez de Balzac, Jean-Luis, *Les Premières Lettres de Guez de Balzac*, ed. by H. Bibas and K. T. Butler (Paris: Droz, 1933-4).

Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, ed. by Edwin Curley (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994).

Juvenal, *Juvenal and Petronius*, trans. by G.G. Ramsay (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Lucan, Marcus Annaeus, *The Civil War*, trans. by J.D. Duff (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).

Lucretius Carus, Titus, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. by W.H.D. Rouse (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

Malebranche, Nicolas, *Traité de Morale*, ed. by Henri Joly (Paris: Libraire du Collège de France, 1882).

——— *Traité de Morale*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Osier (Paris: Flammarion, 1995).

Maximus, Valerius, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, II, ed. and trans. by D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Molière, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Forestier, II (Paris: Gallimard, 2010).

——— *Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur*, ed. by Richard Parish (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1994).

New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Newly Translated from the Vulgate Latin, trans. by R.A. Knox (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1944).

Ovid Naso, Publius, *Heroides and Amores*, trans. by Grant Showerman, 2ed., revised by G.P. Goold (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1977).

Pascal, Blaise, *Lettres écrites à un provincial*, ed. by Antoine Adam (Paris: Flammarion, 1981).

——— *Pensées de Blaise Pascal, suivies des Lettres* (Paris: Abel Ledoux, 1836).

Petronius, [Gaius], *Petronius*, trans. by Michael Heseltine, revised by E.H. Warmington (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1975).

Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. by Harold North Fowler (London: William Heinemann, 1926).

Pilatte Léon (ed.), *Recueil des Édits, Déclaration et Arrests concernans la Religion P. Réformée, 1662-1751, précédés de l'Édit de Nantes* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1885).

Pliny, The Younger, *Letters and Panegyrics*, trans. by Betty Radice (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

Racine, Jean, *Œuvres Complètes, 2: Prose*, ed. by Raymond Picard (Paris: Gallimard, 1966).

Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius, *Suetonius*, trans. by J.C. Rolfe, I (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

Virgil, Publius Maro, *Aeneid 7-12*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G.P. Goold (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

—— *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid 1-6*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G.P. Goold (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Secondary Sources

Adams, Ann Jensen, *Public Faces and Private Identities in seventeenth-century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Adam, Antoine, *Histoire de la Littérature Française au XVII^e siècle: La Fin de l'Ecole Classique*, vol. 5 (Paris: Domat, 1956).

Adams, Geoffrey, *The Huguenots and French Opinion 1685-1787: The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991).

Armstrong, Patricia Jane, 'The Textual Strategies of Pierre Bayle (1647-1706)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Yale University, 2000).

Austin, J.L. *How to do Things with Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Ayres-Bennett, Wendy, *A History of the French Language Through Texts* (London: Routledge, 1996).

——— *Vaugelas and the Development of the French Language* (England: MHRA, 1987).

Baumgartner, Frederic J., *France in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Bayley, Peter J., *French Pulpit Oratory 1598-1650: A Study in Themes and Styles with a Descriptive Catalogue of Printed Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

Beame, E.M., 'The Limits of Toleration in Sixteenth-Century France', *Studies in Renaissance*, 13, 250-265.

Becker, Marvin, B., *Civility and Society in Western Europe, 1300-1600* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988).

Benedict, Philip, *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots 1600-85* (England: Ashgate, 2001).

Bercé, Yves-Marie, *The Birth of Absolutism: A History of France, 1598-1661*, trans. by Richard Rex, (London: Macmillan, 1996).

Bernard, L. L., 'Foucault, Louvois, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes', *Church History*, 25, 1, 27-40.

Bevir, Mark, 'Mind and Method in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory*, 36, 2, 167-189.

——— *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Biagioli, Mario, *Galileo Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

Birn, Raymond, 'Le Journal des Savants sous l'Ancien Régime', *Journal des savants* (1965), 15-35.

Blackwell, Constance, and Sachiko Kusukawa, (eds), *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Conversations with Aristotle* (England: Ashgate, 1999).

Blair, Ann, 'Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53, 4, 541-551.

- Bolgar, R.R. (ed.), *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1976).
- Bost, Hubert, *Ces Messieurs de la R.P.R.: Histoires et écritures de huguenots, XVII^e – XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2001).
- *Pierre Bayle* (Paris: Fayard, 2006).
- *Pierre Bayle et la Question Religieuse dans les 'Nouvelles de la République des Lettres' 1684-1687* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis: Université de Paul Valéry – Montpellier III, 1991).
- *Pierre Bayle, Historien, Critique et Moraliste*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Religieuses, 129 (Belgium: Brepols, 2006).
- *Un «Intellectuel» Avant la Lettre: Le Journaliste Pierre Bayle 1647-1706* (Amsterdam & Maarssen: Apa-Holland University Press, 1994).
- Bots, Hans and François Waquet, *La République des Lettres* (Paris: Belin, 1997).
- Bots, J.A.H. and G.H.M Posthumus Meyjes (eds), *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies 1685: Actes du Colloque international du tricentenaire* (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA-Academice Publishers Associated, 1986).
- Briggs, Robin, *Early Modern France 1560-1715*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- Brown, Harcourt, 'History and the Learned Journal', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 33, 365-378.
- Brown, P.R.L., 'St. Augustine's Attitude to Religious Coercion', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 54, (1964), 107-16.
- Burgwinkle, W., Nicholas Hammond, and Emma Wilson, *The Cambridge History of French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Burke, Peter, *The Art of Conversation* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Bury, Emmanuel, *Littérature et Politesse: L'invention de l'honnête homme 1580-1750* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996).

- Butterworth, Emily, *Poisoned Words: Slander and Satire in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Legenda, 2006).
- Cameron, Euan (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History*, (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2001).
- Carr, Thomas M. Jr, *Descartes and the Resilience of Rhetoric: Varieties of Cartesian Rhetoric* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009).
- Cave, Terence, *How to Read Montaigne* (London: Granta, 2007).
- 'Imagining Scepticism in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of the Institute of Romance Studies*, 1 (1992), 193-205.
- 'Locating the Early Modern', *Paragraph*, 29, 1, 12-26.
- *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
- Cayrou, Gaston, *Le français classique: lexique de la langue du dix-septième siècle expliquant d'après les dictionnaires du temps et les remarques des grammairiens* (Paris: H. Didier, 1923).
- Certeau, Michel de, *L'écriture de l'histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).
- Chartier, Roger, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
- *The Order of Books*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 1994).
- Cheyronnaud, Jacques *et al.*, *Critique et Affaires de Blasphème à l'Époque des Lumières* (Paris: Champion, 1998).
- Chill, Emanuel S., 'Tartuffe, Religion and Courtly Culture', *French Historical Studies*, 3, 2 (1963), 151-83.
- Clarac, Pierre, *L'Age Classique II: 1660-1680* (Paris: Arthaud, 1969).
- Collins, James B., *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Colomiès, Paul, *La Rhétorique de l'Honnête Homme, ou la manière de bien écrire des lettres, de faire toutes sortes de discours, & de les prononcer agréablement* (Amsterdam: George Gallet, 1699).

Conlon, Pierre, *Prélude au siècle des lumières en France: répertoire chronologique de 1680 à 1715*, 6 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1970-5).

Conley, Thomas M., *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (New York: Longman, 1990).

Cox, Virginia, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Darmon, Jean-Charles and Michel Delon (eds), *Histoire de la France littéraire*, 3 vols (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006) II.

Davis, Natalie Zemon, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).

Dawson, Hannah, *Locke, Language and Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Dees, Richard H., 'Establishing Toleration', *Political Theory*, vol.27, 5, 667-93.

Delpla, Isabelle and Philippe de Robert (eds), *La Raison Corrosive: Études sur la pensée critique de Pierre Bayle* (Paris: Champion, 2003).

Delumeau, Jean, *L'Aveu et le Pardon: Les Difficultés de la Confession XIII^e-XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).

——— *Rassurer et Protéger: Le Sentiment de sécurité dans l'Occident d'autrefois* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

Dens, Jean-Pierre, *L'Honnête Homme et la Critique du Goût: Esthétique et Société au XVII^e Siècle* (Kentucky: French Forum, 1981).

Desgraves, Louis, *Répertoire des ouvrages de controverse entre Catholiques et Protestants en France, 1598-1685*, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz 1984).

Dibon, Paul (ed.), 'Les Échanges Épistolaires dans l'Europe Savante du XVII^e Siècle', *Revue de Synthèse*, 81-2 (1976), 31-50.

——— (ed.), *Pierre Bayle: Le Philosophe de Rotterdam* (Paris: Vrin, 1959).

- Dinsmore, Richard B., 'Pierre Bayle and the Development of the Idea of Religious Liberty in Late Seventeenth-Century France' (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis: New York University, 1971).
- Dompnier, Bernard, *Le Venin de l'Hérésie: Image du Protestantisme et Combat Catholique au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Centurion, 1985).
- Dowling, Elizabeth M., and W. George Scarlett, (eds), *Encyclopedia of Religious and Spiritual Development* (United Kingdom: Sage, 2006).
- Dubois, Jean and René Lagane, Alain Lerond, *Dictionnaire du français classique: le XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Larousse, 1992).
- Duchêne, Roger and Pierre Ronzeaud (eds), *Ordre et Contestation au temps des Classiques: Actes du 21^e Colloque du Centre Méridional de Rencontres sur le XVII^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Biblio 17, 1992).
- Edwards, Mark, Martin Goodman and Simon Price (eds), *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- Elias, Norbert, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).
- Eijnatten, Joris van, 'From Modesty to Mediocrity: Regulating Public Dispute, 1670-1840: The Case of Dutch Divines', *Common Knowledge*, 8, 2 (2002), 310-32.
- France, Peter, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- *Rhetoric and Truth in France: Descartes to Diderot* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).
- Fox, Paul W., 'Louis XIV and the Theories of Absolutism and Divine Right', *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 26, 1, 128-42.
- Fumaroli, Marc, *L'Age de l'Éloquence: Rhétorique et Res Literaria de la Renaissance au seuil de l'Époque Classique* (Geneva: Droz, 1980).
- (ed.), *Histoire de la Rhétorique dans l'Europe moderne 1450-1950* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999).
- 'Rhétorique d'école et rhétorique adulte: remarques sur la réception européenne du traité «Du Sublime» au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 86 (1986), 33-51.

—— 'The Republic of Letters', *Diogenes*, 36 (1988), 129-52.

Gabriel, Frédéric, 'Une Réponse aux "artifices de parole": La religion du Serment. François Desmarest sur les pas de Simon Vigor', *Les Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques* [En ligne], 33 | 2004, mis en ligne le 05 septembre 2008, consulté le 15 septembre 2012. URL : <http://ccrh.revues.org/255>

Gaiffier, Baudouin de , Bruno Neveu *et al.*, *Religion, érudition et critique à la fin du XVII^e siècle et au début du XVIII^e* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968).

Garber, Daniel and Michael Ayers (eds), *Cambridge History of seventeenth-century Philosophy*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Garrisson, Janine, *L'Edit de Nantes et sa Révocation: Histoire d'une Intolérance* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1985).

—— *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483-1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion*, trans. by Richard Rex (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Ginzburg, Carlo, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

Goldgar, Anne, *Impolite Learning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Goldsmith, Elizabeth C., *"Exclusive Conversations": The Art of Interaction in Seventeenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 1988).

Goodman, Dena, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Goubert, Pierre, *Louis XIV et vingt millions de Français* (Paris: Fayard, 2010).

Gratton, Jacqueline, 'The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the Role of the *Intendants* in the *Dragonnades*', *French History*, 25, 2, 1-24.

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

Grell, Ole Peter and Bob Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Gros, Jean-Michel, 'La Parabole de la Zizanie chez Pierre Bayle', *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 26, 1 (2005), 297-319.

—— 'L'Art d'Écrire dans les «Éclaircissements» du *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* de Pierre Bayle', *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, 130 (2005), 21-37.

Guion, Béatrice, *Du bon usage de l'histoire: Histoire, morale et politique à l'âge classique* (Paris: Champion, 2008).

Gwynn, Robin D., 'James II in the Light of His Treatment of Huguenot Refugees in England, 1685-1686', *The English Historical Review*, 92, 1977, 820-33.

Harrigan, Michael, 'Addressing a Public in the Seventeenth Century', *Irish Journal of French Studies*, 10 (2010), 19-37.

Harth, Erica, *Ideology and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Cornell University Press, 1983).

Hawcroft, Michael, *Rhetoric: Readings in French Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

—— *Word as Action: Racine, Rhetoric and Theatrical Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

Hazard, Paul, *La Crise de la conscience européenne 1680-1715* (Paris: Fayard, 1961).

Hobson, Marian, *Jacques Derrida: Opening Lines* (London: Routledge, 1998).

Hobson, Theo, *The Rhetorical Word: Protestant Theology and the Rhetoric of Authority* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

Höpfl, Harro, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Hudson, Nicholas, *Writing and European Thought, 1600-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Hunter, Michael, *Editing Early Modern Texts: An Introduction to Principles and Practice* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

Hurt, John Jeter, *Louis XIV and the Parlements: The Assertion of Royal Authority* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002).

- Inwood, Brad (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Israel, Jonathan, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- Israels Perry, Elizabeth, *From Theology to History: French Religious Controversy and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973).
- Jackson, Hugh Lawlor, 'Henry Dodwell', *Irish Church Quarterly*, 6, 23 (1913) 223-51.
- Jaffro, L., B. Frydman, E. Cattin and Alain Petit (eds), *Leo Strauss: Art d'Écrire, Politique, Philosophie* (Paris: Vrin, 2001).
- James, Edward, 'Pierre Bayle and the Rejection of 'La Voie d'Examen'', *French Studies Bulletin*, 31, 117 (2010), 76-8.
- James, Susan, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- Jardine, Lisa, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- Kahn, Victoria, *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe* (Conneticut: Yale University Press, 2001).
- *Rhetoric, Prudence and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).
- Kaiser, Thomas E., 'Rhetoric in the Service of the King: The Abbé Dubos and the Concept of Public Judgment', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 23, 2 (1989-90), 182-99.
- Kearns, Edward John, *Ideas in Seventeenth-Century France: The most important thinkers and the climate of ideas in which they worked* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979).

- Keohane, Nannerl O., *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).
- Kenny, Neil, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Kilcullen, John, *Sincerity and Truth: Essays on Arnauld, Bayle, and Toleration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- Kingswell, Mark, *A Civil Tongue: Justice, Dialogue, and the Politics of Pluralism* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).
- Klaits, Joseph, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- Koch, Erec, *Pascal and Rhetoric: Figural and Persuasive Language in the Scientific Treatises, the Provinciales, and the Pensées* (Virginia: Rockwood Press, 1997).
- Koselleck, Reinhart, *Le Règne de la Critique* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979).
- Labrousse, Elisabeth, *Conscience et conviction: Études sur le XVII^e siècle* (Oxford : Voltaire Foundation, 1996).
- *Pierre Bayle: Du Pays de Foix à la cité d'Erasmus* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1963).
- *Pierre Bayle: Hétérodoxie et rigorisme*, 2nd edn (Paris: Broché, 1996).
- “Une foi, une loi, un roi? ”: *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes* (Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1985).
- Lambe, Patrick J., 'Critics and Skeptics in the Seventeenth-Century Republic of Letters', *Harvard Theological Review*, 81, 3, 271-96.
- Lanham, Richard A., *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).
- Laursen, John Christian (ed.), *Histories of Heresy: For, Against and Beyond Persecution and Toleration* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
- Leffler, Phyllis K., 'The "Histoire Raisonnée" 1660-1720: A Pre-Enlightenment Genre', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 37 (1976), 219-40.
- Leigh, Matthew, *Lucan: Spectacle and Engagement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

- Leites, Edmund (ed.), *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Lennon, Thomas M., *Reading Bayle* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1999).
- Love, Ronald, *Blood and Religion: The Conscience of Henri IV* (Canada: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001).
- Luria, Keith P., 'Conversion and Coercion: Personal Conscience and Political Conformity in Early Modern France', *The Medieval History Journal*, 12, 2 (2009), 221-47.
- Maber, Richard, *Publishing in the Republic of Letters: The Ménage-Graevius-Wetstein Correspondence 1679-1692* (New York: Editions Rodopi B.V., 2005).
- Maclean, Ian, Alan Montefiore and Peter Winch (eds), *The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, *The History of England: From the Accession of James II*, I, (London: Folio, 1985).
- Magdelaine, M., Maria-Cristina Pitassi, Ruth Whelan and Antony McKenna (eds), *De l'Humanisme aux Lumières, Bayle et le protestantisme* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996).
- Magendie, Maurice, *La Politesse Mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté, en France au XVII^e siècle, de 1600 à 1660*, I (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970).
- Major, J. Russell, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles, & Estates* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
- Malherbe, Abraham J., *Moral Exhortation: A Greco-Roman Sourcebook* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1989).
- Marshall, John, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- Martin, Henri-Jean, *Livre, Pouvoirs et Société à Paris au XVII^e siècle*, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1999).
- *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism, and Readership, 1585-1715*, trans. by Paul Saenger and Nadine Saenger (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

- Maryks, Robert Aleksander, *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption of Moral Probablism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
- Matheson, Peter, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998).
- Mayer, C.A., 'L'Honnête Homme: Molière and Philibert de Vienne's "Philosophe de Court"', *MLR*, 46, 2, 196-217.
- McCord Adams, Marilyn, *William Ockham*, 2 vols (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), I.
- McCullough, Roy L., *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV's France* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
- McKenna, Antony, and Gianni Paganini (eds), *Pierre Bayle dans la République des Lettres: philosophie, religion, critique* (Paris: Champion, 2004).
- Mentzer, Raymond, *Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility* (Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1994).
- Miller, J. Hillis, *For Derrida* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009).
- Miller, Minnie M., 'The French Periodical Press during the Reign of Louis XIV', *French Review*, 5, 4, 301-8.
- Miller, Peter N., *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
- Morgan, Betty Trebelle, *Histoire du Journal des Sçavans Depuis 1665 jusqu'en 1701* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1928).
- Mori, Gianluca, 'Anonymat et Stratégies de Communication: Le Cas de Pierre Bayle', *La Lettre Clandestine*, 8 (1999), 19-34.
- *Bayle Philosophe* (Paris: Champion, 1999).
- Moriarty, Michael, *Early Modern French Thought: The Age of Suspicion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- *Taste and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- 'Theory and the Early Modern: Some Notes on a Difficult Relationship' *Paragraph*, 29 (2006), 1-11.

- Moss, Ann, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
- Nederman, Cary J., 'Historical Method and Traditions of Discourse', *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 18 (1985), 339-52.
- Negroni, Barbara de, *Intolérances: Catholiques et Protestants en France, 1560-1787* (Paris: Hachette, 1996).
- Neveu, Bruno, *Erudition et Religion aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Michel Albin, 1994).
- O'Brien, John, 'Critical Distance', *Paragraph*, 29 (2006), 108-19.
- O'Cathasaigh, Sean, 'Bayle's *Commentaire philosophique*, 1686', *Studies on Voltaire & the Eighteenth Century*, 260 (1989) 159-82.
- Orcibal, Jean, *Louis XIV et les Protestants* (Paris: Vrin, 1951).
- Parish, Richard, *Catholic Particularity in Seventeenth Century French Writing: 'Christianity is Strange'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- Parvis, Sara and Paul Foster (eds), *Justin Martyr and His Worlds* (Canada: Fortress Press, 2007).
- Phillips, Henry, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- 'Molière and Tartuffe: Recrimination and Reconciliation', *French Review*, 62, 5 (1989), 749-63.
- Pickman, Edward Motley, 'Libertine Ideas in the Time of Richelieu and Mazarin', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd ser., 68 (1944-7), 21-59.
- Prudovsky, Gad, 'Can we Ascribe to Past Thinkers Concepts They had no Linguistic Means to Express?', *History and Theory*, 36 (1997), 15-31.
- Puaux, Frank, *Les Précurseurs Français de la Tolérance au XVII^e siècle* (Paris : G. Fischbacher, 1881).
- Quéraud, J.M., *La France Littéraire, ou Dictionnaire Bibliographique*, vol. 5 (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1833).

- Rabil Jr., Albert (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy*, 3 vols, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).
- Racaut, Luc and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Moderate Voices in the European Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
- Ranum, Orest, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in seventeenth-century France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
- Remer, Gary, 'Dialogues of Toleration: Erasmus and Bodin', *The Review of Politics*, 56, 2 (1994), 305-36.
- 'Humanism, Liberalism, & the Skeptical Case for Religious Toleration', *Polity*, 25, 1 (1992), 21-43.
- Rétat, Pierre, *Le Dictionnaire de Bayle et la lutte philosophique au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Société d'Édition 'les Belles Lettres', 1971).
- Rex, Walter, *Essays on Pierre Bayle and Religious Controversy* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963).
- Rickard, Peter, *The French Language in the Seventeenth Century: Contemporary Opinion in France* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992).
- Ricken, Ulrich, *Linguistics, Anthropology and Philosophy in the French Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- Robert, Philippe de, Claudine Pailhès and Hubert Bost (eds), *Le Rayonnement de Bayle* (Oxford: SVEC, 2010).
- Robinson, I.S., *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Roth, Mitchel P., *Historical Dictionary of Law Enforcement* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2001).
- Roussin, Philippe (ed), *Critique et affaires de blasphème à l'époque des Lumières* (Paris: Champion, 1998).
- Rubin, David Lee, *Utopia*, Studies in Early Modern France, v.4 (Virginia: Rookwood Press, 1998).
- Sabatier, Robert, *La Poésie du Dix-Septième Siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1975).

- Sahlins, Peter, 'Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners 1685-1787', *Representations*, 47 (1994), 85-110.
- Sanders, Carol (ed), *Cambridge Companion to Saussure* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Sanford, Kessler, 'Religion and Liberalism in Montesquieu's Persian Letters', *Polity*, 3, 15, pp.380-96.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ed. by Tullio de Mauro (Paris: Payot, 1979).
- Sauvy, Anne, *Livres Saisis à Paris entre 1678 et 1701* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972).
- Scholar, Richard, *The Je-Ne-Sais-Quoi in Early Modern Europe: Encounters with a Certain Something* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- 'Two Cheers for Free-Thinking', *Paragraph*, 29 (2006), 40-52.
- Shapin, Steven, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
- Skinner, Quentin, 'Hermeneutics and the Role of History', *New Literary History*, 7, 1 (1975), 209-32.
- 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory*, 8 (1969), 3-53.
- *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- *Visions of Politics*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), I.
- Solé, Jacques, 'Le Débat entre Protestants et Catholiques Français de 1598 à 1685', 5 vols (Paris: Atelier National de Reproduction de Thèses, 1985).
- *Les Origines Intellectuelles de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1997).

- Soll, Jacob, 'Empirical History and the Transformation of Political Criticism in France from Bodin to Bayle', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64 (2003), 297-316.
- Sommers, Margaret Paula, 'D'Aubigné's Baron de Faeneste: Courtier, Matamore, Picaro', *French Review*, 50, 1, 6-11.
- Stewart, M.A. (ed.), *Studies in Seventeenth-Century European Philosophy*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
- Strauss, Leo, *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- Strosetzki, Christoph, *Rhétorique de la Conversation: sa dimension littéraire et linguistique dans la société française du XVII^e siècle*, trans. by Sabine Seubert (Paris: Papers on seventeenth century French Literature, 1984).
- Sypher, G.W., "'Faisant ce qu'il leur vient à plaisir": The Image of Protestantism in French Catholic Polemic on the Eve of the Religious Wars', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11 (Summer, 1980), 59-84.
- Tietz, Manfred and Volker Kapp (eds), *La Pensée Religieuse dans la littérature et la civilisation du XVII^e siècle en France: Actes du Colloque de Bamberg 1983* (Paris: Biblio 17, 1984).
- Tinsley, Barbara Sher, *History and Polemics in the French Reformation: Florimond de Raemonde: Defender of the Church* (Susquehanna University Press, 1993).
- Tocanne, Bernard, *L'Idée de Nature en France dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978).
- Trebelle Morgan, Betty, *Histoire du Journal des Sçavans depuis 1665 jusqu'en 1701* (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1928).
- Tribout, Bruno and Ruth Whelan (eds), *Narrating the Self in Early Modern Europe* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).
- Tully, James, *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).
- Varga, Áron Kibédi, 'Universalité et limites de la rhétorique', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, vol.18, 2000, 1-28.
- Vickers, Brian, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

- Villey, Pierre, *Marot et Rabelais: avec une table chronologique des Œuvres de Marot* (Paris: Champion, 1967).
- Walker, Garthine, *Writing Early Modern History* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005).
- Walsham, Alexandra, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).
- Ward, Ian, 'Helping the Dead Speak: Leo Strauss, Quentin Skinner and the Arts of Interpretation in Political Thought', *Polity*, 41 (2009), 235-55.
- Watt, Robert (ed.), *Bibliotheca Britannica*, (Great Britain: Routledge, 1995).
- Wetsel, David, *Pascal and Disbelief: Catechesis and Conversion in the 'Pensées'* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1994).
- Weymans, Wim, 'Michel de Certeau and the Limits of Historical Representation', *History and Theory*, 43 (2004), 161-78.
- Whelan, Ruth, *The Anatomy of Superstition: A Study of the Historical Theory and Practice of Pierre Bayle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1989).
- Williams, Wes, "'Being in the Middle": Translation, Transition and the "Early Modern"', *Paragraph*, 29 (2006), 27-39.
- Wilson, N. Scarlyn, *The French Classic Age: From Malherbe to Massillon* (Paris: Hachette, 1927).
- Wolfe, Michael, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- Worcester, Thomas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Yardeni, Miriam, 'Journalisme et Histoire Contemporaine à l'Époque de Bayle', *History and Theory*, 12, 2 (1973), 208-29.
- Zagorin, Perez, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).
- Zembaty, Jane S., 'Aristotle on Lying', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 31, 1 (1993), 7-29.

Zoberman, Pierre, 'Eloquence and Ideology: Between Image and Propaganda', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, vol.18, 2000, 295-320.

—— *Les Cérémonies de la Parole: L'éloquence d'apparat en France dans le dernier quart du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1998).

Zuber, Roger and Marc Fumaroli (eds), *Dictionnaire de littérature française du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994).

A Timeline of the Bayle-La Roque Disputes

Ferrand Dispute

1684

Olaus Dispute

